SENATE SHAKE-UP **IRIC NATHANSON**

THE NATION

DECEMBER 11, 1976 *60 cents*

APARTHEID: The Earth Trembles

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EDITORIALS

Kennedy for Secretary of State

President-elect Carter has been the beneficiary, if that is the word, of all kinds of advice from all kinds of people (including ourselves) on what sort of persons he should pick for the principal posts in his administration. Now, on the eve of his actual choices, or so we are told, we presume to advance a Name for a Job.

The Name we would mention, and even advocate, is that of Edward M. Kennedy; the Job is Secretary of State. We believe this choice would be good for the country, good for the President and good for the Senator. Because this suggestion flies in the face of the current wisdom on the staffing of the incoming Executive and, in addition, violates the laws of probability, we hasten to give our arguments for this unconventional "nomination."

It would be good for the country, we believe, because no decision by the new President could do more to bring the Presidency back into a proper relationship with the other branches of government. By naming an influential Senator, with a constituency of his own, Mr. Carter would be sending out a signal that the days of the "imperial Presidency" were over. It is in the field of foreign affairs that the excessive powers implied in this phrase of Arthur Schlesinger's have been most evident. The combination of powers inherent in the President as Commander in Chief and as maker and executor of foreign policy has provided the engine for the vast expansion of the Presidency in the last two generations. Former Sen. Eugene McCarthy's most serious contribution to the political dialogue of 1968 was the idea that the President should have as his chief Cabinet officers politicians with power bases of their own; they would automatically serve as checks on the tendency of the White House to extend its reach.

Beyond that important balancing factor there is the fact that Senator Kennedy is widely seen by the world abroad as representing the best side of the American face. Rightly or wrongly, the Kennedy tradition seems to stand for a more humane attitude toward the rest of mankind, less selfish than the attitude adopted by recent administrations. His appointment would mark a sharp break with the policies and practices that began after the death of his older brother on November 22, 1963. Furthermore, Senator Kennedy, even though he has never been a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, has managed to take stands and support policies that are generally on the good side of issues connected with America's activities abroad.

His work on the Subcommittee on Refugees has made him the leader of the Congressional forces that resist dictatorial oppression by "friendly" regimes like that of Chile. His record on matters of arms control and nuclear proliferation is outstanding. He has consistently opposed the unhealthy growth of our arms industry and the unchecked sale of its products abroad, and especially in the Persian Gulf.

On human rights and on a decent policy for our food surpluses no record in the Senate is better than his. Because of his name, perhaps, but also because of his own activities, he knows most of the political leaders of the world. His appointment would mean the end of Kissingerism, that grab bag of short-term accommodations pretending to be long-range plans for world order.

Kennedy as Secretary of State would be good for Carter, we believe, despite the obvious fact that he would have to handle a powerful political figure in that key post with great care. It would show that President Carter had a largeness of imagination and spirit which did not fear competition from a Cabinet officer (think back to what Lincoln had to put up with in that regard!). The presence of Kennedy in his administration should be of enormous help in his dealings with Congress on sensitive issues of foreign policy. Finally, to adapt "Engine Charlie" Wilson's famous phrase about what was good for General Motors, what is clearly good for the United States in foreign policy is good for any particular Presidency.

As for the reasons why we believe accepting this appointment would be good for Senator Kennedy, we start with a question: What could he possibly do in the Senate in the next several years that would be of comparable importance? This high office would give him executive experience of the most testing sort. It would purge him of any lingering reputation as a playboy, better known for his animal spirits than for serious thinking. If he found himself, down the line, in serious disagreement with the Carter policies, that would be more Carter's problem than his—he could always resign and even use those differences to develop his own natural power base as a springboard toward the Presidency in 1980 or 1984. But there is no reason to anticipate that sort of trouble, as both Carter and Kennedy should realize.

This appointment would be a shock to the American foreign policy establishment, and that also is in its favor. It would be popular with Congress and exceedingly so in most of the world. It would be convincing proof of Carter's confidence in himself. We believe that it would be a brilliant stroke.

Global Press Reach

A large American metropolitan newspaper is sold to an Australian publishing magnate. A large British national newspaper is sold to an American conglomerate based on oil. There's a kind of symmetry in these two recent deals, a kind of transnational corporate tit for tat. It tells a great deal about the nature of newspapers these days and none of it is good.

Will *The Observer* of London be worse off at the benevolent disposition of ARCO (Atlantic Richfield) or the *New York Post* in the hands of Rupert Murdoch, the racy press lord from down under? In each case the striking fact is that a "foreign interest" becomes the proprietor of a large newspaper. Both transactions are strictly business. Murdoch makes no bones about it and his acid comments on the present quality of the *New York Post* are at least short on cant.

The opposite is true of ARCO's venture in London. There, sentiment oozes as the shrinking old *Observer* sinks into the arms of its oily rescuer. The current editor gushes that the ARCO purchase of his old sheet (founded

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in 1790) "is an absolute godsend for us editorially." Douglass Cater, ex-journalist turned foundation bureaucrat, who midwifed the *Observer* deal, intones, "Great corporate enterprises need to do things that make their presence known."

Indeed they do, as the thriving public relations business proves every day in many unappealing ways. Cater told *Time* that, "In the broadest sense, public relations is involved." He works for the Aspen Institute, a fancy think-tank of the social sciences whose board chairman happens also to be chairman of ARCO. The question for British newspaper readers is what kind of "presence"

To Our Readers

I succeeded George Kirstein as publisher of this magazine eleven years ago, at the end of 1965. To me the position was not merely the ownership of a business—no one can "own" *The Nation*—but rather a public trust, and I determined that the magazine must continue to publish without any alteration of its basic character, compromise of principle or adulteration of purpose. Thanks to the excellence of Editor Carey McWilliams, his successor Blair Clark, Robert Hatch, and a truly fine editorial staff, I think it fair to say that this goal has been achieved.

Now, for health, financial and other reasons, I feel I should no longer continue in control of *The Nation*. For nearly two years I have been in search of a suitable person to take over from me. I have talked with a large number of people interested in doing so, and the one I have selected seems the best possible successor. Thomas B. Morgan will assume control of *The Nation* on January 1, 1977.

Tom Morgan is, first of all, an experienced professional journalist. Only recently he resigned from the editorship of *The Village Voice*, a challenging managerial position. He is the author of scores of articles which appeared in *Look*, *Life*, *Harper's* and *Esquire*, and other national magazines. He has written four books: *Among the Anti-Americans*, *Self-Creations: 13 Impersonalities*, *Friends and Fellow-Students*, and a novel, *This Blessed Shore*.

He has good political credentials as well. He was press aide to Adlai Stevenson in his 1960 campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, and press secretary to Eugene McCarthy during the 1968 Oregon and California primary campaigns. From 1969 through 1973 he served as press secretary to Mayor John Lindsay of New York. In 1954 he collaborated on one of the first pieces on Martin Luther King Jr. to appear in a major publication, and in 1962 he participated in and reported on one of the earliest peace marches.

It is my firm belief that control of this unique old publication is passing to one who is competent to manage it, is in tune with its character and philosophy, and who will preserve its independent voice.

James J. Storrow jr., Publisher

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ARCO intends to make known through its ownership of this respected old Sunday newspaper.

Did the $7-billion-a-year California-based ARCO buy *The Observer* (for a pound and a guarantee to put up money) just because the ARCO-Aspen chairman, Robert O. Anderson, cherishes the civilized values for which the paper has stood? Or did crasser considerations, like ARCO's interest in North Sea oil development or British Petroleum's stake in Middle East oil, sully the eleemosynary nature of this rescue operation?

Anderson belongs to that group of rich businessmen who are sometimes dubbed "Renaissance men" (indeed *The New York Times* so described him), meaning that they occasionally lift their eyes from their computer printouts to look at a book or a painting. A little culture may also be a dangerous thing, but it could help to con the faltering British Establishment as it opens its arms and its stately homes to Anderson, the savior of *The Observer*, and as he goes about his real business.

It is necessary to suggest, however unpleasantly, that ARCO must have a commercial reason for doing this deal. Otherwise the stockholders of ARCO, who did not buy their shares of this oil combine in order to save failing newspapers abroad, will rush to court to protect their investments. And the interests of an American oil corporation have never been quite identical with those of a free and independent press.

In the strictest sense, it is none of an oil corporation's business. That evident truth should put an end to the humanistic pieties being mouthed on the motivation of Mr. Anderson, the Florentine prince, but of course it won't. The British upper crust is crumbling so fast these days that it would welcome rescue from a far less sympathetic character than the ARCO chairman, one who, in *Newsweek*'s lingo, "socializes with artists." (Would that make him sympathetic to "socialism" in Britain? Not half likely.)

So much for this venture in transatlantic cultural charity by an American oil corporation. Rupert Murdoch, the Australian proprietor of the *New York Post*, is the latest in the long line of British press lords, those great contributors to vulgarity, those patronizers of the proletariat that enriches them with its pennies.

It is a bad tradition Murdoch comes from and there is little evidence in the record of his eighty-seven printed "properties" that he represents any change for the better. He apparently started out as a young Socialist in his university days and, predictably, moved rightward as his empire of newsprint grew. But that is a local problem for the afternoon newspaper readers in one American city where there is now only one resident American newspaper ownership, that of *The New York Times*. At least Murdoch is a person with experience in journalism and not an oil company owning a national newspaper, and that is something, if not very much, to say in his behalf.

The FBI Follies

Americans should hope that the old saying—tragedy repeated comes out as farce—is not being reversed in the case of the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover. Ominous farce is the note struck by the stream of revelations now emerging from the FBI files on individuals and organizations obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. The behavior of Hoover and his G-men is also hilariously inept, so full of vanity and slapstick, pettiness and bureaucratic low comedy that one is tempted to cast Oliver Hardy in the role of The Director and enjoy a good laugh—until one recalls that these comedians were playing with the police power of a modern centralized state.

The latest peek into this world of black comedy comes from the files on a newspaper, the estimable *Charleston* (W. Va.) *Gazette*. After the usual lengthy paper shuffling, the FBI finally released part of its 100-page file on the *Gazette*. The tale it tells is of a love affair gone sour. In the 1930s, the *Gazette* was calling Hoover things like "Policeman No. 1," but later, in the 1950s, the *Gazette* was one of a handful of American newspapers that vigorously opposed the hunt for "subversives" of that bad period. Hoover's emotions turned from love to hate.

He sent his agents into the paper's newsroom to find out which of its editors were "friendly" to the bureau and which not. The *Gazette*'s former editor, Harry G. Hoffman, was called a "scurrilous character." Its publisher, W.E. Chilton III, was accused of the high crime of writing editorials "in praise of Red China" and "highly critical of the American Legion and the FBI." A reporter, Edward Peeks, sought from the FBI's Atlanta office information on police brutality against blacks in the South, and word came from Hoover's own office that, because the *Gazette* had been "consistently hostile" to the bureau over the years, the Atlanta FBI agents should "furnish no information or assistance."

The file shows a flurry of anger (or hurt feelings) every time the *Gazette* criticized the FBI or its vainglorious chief. The messages from the field offices to headquarters on the infidelities of the *Gazette* were directed to Hoover in person and marked "urgent." They got prompt action. The *Gazette* received the ultimate punishment—removal from the FBI's mailing list.

The comedy is there, for sure. It is always funny to see vanity motivating petty bureaucratic harassment. The trouble is that this was the national police agency spying on a newspaper, denying it information it should have been given, compiling dossiers on members of its staff. That is no laughing matter, and the FBI, like the other spy agencies, is still under no effective control by our elected representatives.

Case Closed

We have kept our silence on the Patty Hearst case this last year because there never seemed to be anything sensible to say about it.

She was a kidnap victim. She was a gun-moll robber. She was a revolutionary. She was a poor little rich girl. Conventional, eccentric, exploited, exploiter, she was always a celebrity. She and her case lent themselves best to the crude taste of her family's reactionary press. The question of who she was seemed to matter more than what she was, innocent or guilty.

She was duly convicted of bank robbery and has spent a little time in jail. Now she is out, back in the hands of a family she once called "pigs." Having passed through

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her phase as a Hearstian villainess, she is being transformed into a heroine, an ex-radical who has seen the right and the light.

It is all vivid and sickening. She never was a radical, of course—just a pathetic adventuress spun from her family's clippings (coupons and newspaper morgue). Her adventures have given radical chic an even worse name than it had.

There is no large lesson in this grubby story, no great morality to be drawn from the whole circumstance (which will not stop the moralists from plying their trade). But if all this had happened to a young woman who was not named Hearst, she would still be in prison—doing, instead of making, time. The idea of equal justice for all is once again the principal victim in the Hearst melodrama.

SENATE SHAKE-UP

RATIONALIZING THE COMMITTEES

IRIC NATHANSON

The inch-thick report with the green cover looked like any of the hundreds of other hearing records published by the Senate each year. Its 700 pages provided a verbatim account of a two-day review of the operation of the National Institutes of Health by Sen. Warren Magnuson's Subcommittee on Labor/Health, Education and Welfare.

But there was something about this hearing that set it apart from other meetings conducted by Senate subcommittees during the 94th Congress: it never occurred. The entire hearing record, which appeared to be an account of actual subcommittee sessions, was put together by Senate staffers, using written answers to questions submitted by them to NIH officials.

This "nonevent," which, when it came out, considerably embarrassed Senator Magnuson and led to the resignation of his staff aide, Harley Dirks, points up a very real problem affecting the internal operation of the Senate. The Senators are overscheduled. Some serve on as many as thirty subcommittees, and most spend their days racing from one meeting to the next, trailed by a retinue of staff aides. Because of the competing demands on their time, Senators often find that they can give only cursory attention to each of the wide range of legislative issues that come before them each day.

Magnuson's Appropriations Subcommittee is a good illustration of this scheduling problem. Magnuson himself chairs one of the Senate's eighteen full legislative committees, the Commerce Committee, in addition to heading a subcommittee that oversees $175 billion in yearly expenditures by two Cabinet-level departments. In all, he serves on three full committees and nineteen subcommittees. Each of the fourteen other members of his Labor-HEW subcommittee sits on at least a dozen other legislative sub-units. Given the scheduling problems resulting from these multiple assignments, it's not surprising that Magnuson's staff succumbed to the temptation to organize an "on paper only" hearing that didn't require the actual presence of Senators.

For the past six months, a twelve-member committee, headed by Adlai Stevenson III, has been working quietly to find solutions to these and other organizational problems affecting the internal workings of the Senate. This group is not merely tinkering with the legislative machinery; its plan to overhaul and streamline the Senate committee system could lead to a new distribution of power in Congress, and it may therefore provide a preview of the battles that may be waged over President-elect Carter's plan to reorganize the federal bureaucracy.

Stevenson's Temporary Committee on Committees is one of two panels working to make the Senate function more effectively. A second group, known as the Commission on the Operation of the Senate, is concerned with support services and more standard housekeeping matters not directly related to the organization of the committees themselves. The Temporary Committee, whose reorganization plan will come before the full Senate in January, has proceeded on the assumption that there are too many committees in the Senate and that Senators can legislate more effectively if they have fewer assignments. Members of the Stevenson committee believe, moreover, that existing committee jurisdictions, which overlap considerably, create an unnecessary fragmentation in the formulation of public policy—particularly in such newly important areas as environment, energy and transportation.

Stevenson explains that his committee's reorganization plan, which he describes as "the most sweeping reform proposal in the history of the Senate," will eliminate more than half the existing committees, reduce the number of Senators' committee and subcommittee assignments from an average of eighteen to no more than eight, and realign committee jurisdictions for the first time in thirty years.

Under the Stevenson plan, four legislative committees —Aeronautical and Space Sciences, Post Office and Civil Service, Veterans Affairs, and District of Columbia— would be abolished outright and their functions transferred to other Senate legislative units. In addition, the reorganization proposal would eliminate six nonlegislative or select committees and, if the House concurred, phase out seven joint House-Senate committees, including the powerful Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

Iric Nathanson works on Capitol Hill and writes about Congressional affairs.

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Certain committees—in particular, Appropriations, Budget and Armed Services—would remain pretty much as they are now. Other Senate legislative units would undergo major transformation. Jurisdiction over energy matters, now spread among seventeen separate committees, would be consolidated by and large in the Interior Committee, renamed Energy and Natural Resources. Interior, in turn, would transfer jurisdiction over the National Environmental Protection Act to the Public Works Committee, which now has control of air and water pollution. Public Works would become the Environment and Public Works Committee. The game of legislative musical chairs would continue as Public Works gave up jurisdiction over federal highways to a newly reorganized Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation.

Some committees would be affected in a less direct way by this jurisdictional realignment. The prestigious Committee on Foreign Relations would retain most of its current jurisdiction, except for international financial and monetary affairs, which would go to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs. The Select Committee on Small Business and the Agriculture Committee would be fused into a new committee named, appropriately enough, Agriculture and Small Business.

The fifteen committees remaining after the Stevenson shuffle had been completed would be able to organize their own subcommittees. However, the requirement that Senators could serve on only two subcommittees on each of two standing committees would, in effect, limit the number of subcommittees each full committee could create. Stevenson expects that the total number of legislative subcommittees would be reduced to about 100 from the current level of 140.

The Illinois Senator and his staff are acutely aware that a similar effort to reorganize the House committee system, headed by Richard Bolling of Missouri, failed in 1974. But Staff Director Ken Gray points out important differences between the ways in which the House and the Senate approach the issue of committee reform. "Reform was essentially an intellectual exercise in the House," Gray says. "There, the Bolling committee started with the premise that committee jurisdictions needed to be rationalized. Here, we have looked at jurisdictional realignment as a means of easing the Senators' work load.

"On our side, Senators really want changes made in the current system. On the House side, there wasn't the same kind of support for reform; too many House members saw their own positions jeopardized by the Bolling plan."

Stevenson and his staff realize that they are not merely rearranging boxes on an organizational chart. They know they are tampering with the basic commodity of Congress—political power—and they have been careful not to disturb unduly the existing Senatorial power centers. By and large, the Stevenson plan does not impinge on the domains of three of the most powerful committee barons: Armed Service's John Stennis, Judiciary's James Eastland and Finance's Russell Long. The Stevenson Committee tried to strip the Finance Committee of its jurisdiction over health and welfare but this failed, in part because five members of the Stevenson panel were members of the Finance Committee.

The Stevenson group has not been reluctant to take legislative turf away from those who rank less high on the Senate pecking order. Three current chairmen—Vance Hartke, Frank Moss and Gale McGee—would all have had their committees abolished. Conveniently enough for the purposes of the reorganization plan, all three were defeated for re-election in November.

Supporters of the Stevenson plan point out that, while the plan does not diminish the influence of the most important committee chairmen, it would spread power more evenly throughout the Senate, since committee prestige would be more nearly equal. No longer would some Senators be relegated to committees such as District of Columbia and Aeronautics and Space, which do little to enhance a Senator's standing in Washington, or to recommend him to the voters back home. Some Senate observers contend, however, that the Stevenson plan would reduce opportunities for the more junior members of the Senate by limiting the number of their committee assignments and reducing their ability to obtain subcommittee chairmanships. Both arguments are likely to be weighed carefully by the eighteen new Senators who will take office in January and who may be in a position to determine the fate of the reorganization plan.

While the Stevenson plan deals with the internal workings of the Senate, its effect would be felt far beyond the halls of the Capitol. The throngs of lobbyists who populate Washington are eyeing the plan warily, trying to determine how it might affect them and the interests they promote. Many who have found a comfortable niche in the existing committee system fear they might lose access to key Senators and committee staff under any reorganization. Some outside groups—notably Common Cause, the League of Women Voters and the Chamber of Commerce—actively support the plan, but most trade associations and public interest groups have not yet taken a stand.

Stevenson and his committee are eager to win the support of environmental organizations, whose opposition to the Bolling plan contributed to its defeat in the House. Environmentalists are generally enthusiastic about the proposed abolition of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, but some are unhappy with the decision to leave public lands within the jurisdiction of the production-oriented Energy Committee.

Thus far, the strongest opposition to the Stevenson plan has come from veterans' organizations, postal unions and senior citizen groups, all of which are irate about the proposed dismantling of the committees that promote their interests. In a letter to Stevenson, VFW Commander in Chief R.D. "Bulldog" Smith declared that he was "shocked beyond belief" when he learned that the Veterans Committee might be abolished. "Let me state for the record," he wrote, "and on behalf of 1.8 million Veterans of Foreign Wars, that we are unalterably opposed

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to the dissolution of the Senate Veterans Affairs Committee."

Stevenson says that the opposition of the veterans and other groups concerns him: "We are trying to show these people that reorganization won't hurt them—that we will be able to do even more for veterans, for example, even though there is no Veterans Committee, but we are having a hard time persuading them. . . . It looks as though we will have to face these pressures head-on when we get to the Senate floor."

One group that might suffer by the reorganization hasn't yet started sending letters to Senator Stevenson, but its people have other ways of making their concerns known. Nearly 200 Senate staffers might find that their jobs had been eliminated along with their committees. Stevenson says that special efforts would be made to make sure that no one loses his or her job abruptly after the new system is implemented. He points out that staff from defunct committees could transfer to the new consolidated committees, at least temporarily. Ken Gray points out that only 14 per cent of all committee staff people in the Senate would be affected by the reorganization. "Those who are affected will probably have no trouble landing a job downtown. Senate staffers are always in high demand by outside employers."

The fact that the Stevenson plan could eventually eliminate some staff jobs attracts people like Tennessee's Bill Brock, who characterizes the burgeoning Congressional bureaucracy as "one of the major scandals of the day." Brock, a key Republican member of the Stevenson committee who was defeated for re-election in November, says that the cost of operating the Senate has doubled since 1970, in large part because so many additional staff people have been hired.

Earlier this year, Brock told the Senate: "If we are truly interested in reducing bureaucracy and restoring power to the people, then it seems to me—and I am addressing the majority party in particular—that such reform must begin here in the legislative branch. If we cannot get our house in order, then we are hardly in a position to condemn the Chief Executive for not undertaking reform of the executive branch." Brock will not be around in January to work for passage of the reorganization plan, but many of his fellow Republicans are expected to support it. "The Republicans have nothing to lose," says one Senate observer, "and they can claim that they are supporting reform by voting with Stevenson."

The Illinois Democrat knows that he will have to move quickly to bring the reorganization proposal before the Senate when it convenes in January. "Unless we can get the Senate to act on our recommendations before committee assignments are made for new members," Stevenson says, "committee reform is dead—at least during the next Congress."

Stevenson says that all the candidates for posts of leadership in the Senate agree that committee reorganization should be taken up by the Senate in January as one of the first orders of business. However, a Senator who could block approval of the proposal, Rules Committee Chairman Howard Cannon, hasn't had much to say on the matter. Cannon could take the position that his committee should review the reorganization plan before the Senate acts on it. The first test vote on the Stevenson resolution might well come over a motion by Cannon to refer the resolution to the Rules Committee.

Senator Stevenson knows that an overhaul of Senate legislative machinery will not, in itself, enable Senators to make wiser decisions, but he contends that his plan will at least give his colleagues better legislative tools to use at a time when a Democratic Congress and a Democratic White House will be cooperatively responsible for making government function more effectively.

If Stevenson succeeds, he may have paved the way for a more extensive governmental reorganization effort that is likely to begin in Washington after Inauguration Day. □

AFTER HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISES

CARTER AND THE MIDDLE EAST

MARK A. BRUZONSKY

. . . barring a shift by Israel—regardless of who wins the November election in the U.S., a wracking American-Israeli showdown is near.

Washington

That was Washington political columnist Stephen Rosenfeld's prophecy during the summer (writing in *Present Tense*, the American Jewish Committee's quarterly on world Jewish affairs) as he looked beyond the superficiality of the election campaign to the realities of Middle East diplomacy.

Now, with Carter preparing for the transfer of power and Kissinger soliciting bids for his memoirs, the "showdown" still remains on the horizon. Something of a consensus on how to proceed in the Middle East has emerged in the United States, and it requires of Israel an acquiescence to concessions that far surpass those the current government of the Jewish state seems willing, or may be able, to contemplate. As Matti Golan, the well-known Israeli journalist (author of *The Secret Conversations of Henry Kissinger*), remarked somewhat prematurely last April:

Rabin has just about used up the time he has been able to gain. . . . For while he was busy counting the months and weeks . . . the Arabs were assiduously using

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the same time to acquire broad political support, even from formerly unsympathetic places. And so Israel has arrived unprepared at the time of decision.

The Middle East war clock is again ticking and a "year of decision" is ahead for President-elect Carter. As in the mid-1950s and again after both the 1967 and 1973 wars, the United States faces basic political choices sure to have immense ramifications. Henry Kissinger's legacy in the Middle East, as he himself has put it, is the current "moment of unprecedented opportunity." If the incoming administration is able to exploit this moment that will be one of the first indications of its ability to grasp the reins of international diplomacy.

In the Middle East, the "demanding task for the United States," writes Carter's adviser, Henry Owen, in the new Brookings Institution study, *Setting National Priorities: The Next Ten Years*, is to walk "the narrow line between an overly intrusive role and passivity." It is a path made the more difficult because "the issue will also figure heavily in American domestic politics," as it so damagingly did during the campaign. Yet Owen is correct to conclude that "There is no alternative. . . . Encouraging and supporting Arab-Israeli negotiations for a general settlement will thus be the most urgent foreign policy task facing the next administration."

The urgency has, in fact, been heightened by the manner in which both candidates alienated the Arabs while courting the Jewish vote in the closing weeks of the campaign. The foreign policy price of domestic politics will now have to be met by unambiguous Carter assurances that he will follow basically the course set by Kissinger since the Yom Kippur war; i.e., to maneuver for an overall settlement which would include:

¶ Phased Israeli withdrawal to approximately the 1967 borders.

¶ Creation of a Palestinian "entity" or state.

¶ A novel arrangement for a united but dually administered Jerusalem.

¶ Various forms of security arrangements and "guarantees" for Israel.

¶ Arab recognition of the Jewish state.

If Carter fails to provide such assurances within a few months, serious apprehensions about his intentions will seem to be confirmed. His apparent shift in the final weeks of the campaign from "even-handedness" to pre-Yom Kippur war pro-Israeli attitudes would then threaten an unpredictable deterioration of Arab ties with the United States, renewed Arab-Soviet intrigue, further oil supply and price problems, and preparations for war in the manner of the 1970-73 period.

Already, the game of international diplomacy has been resumed with contact between Egypt and the USSR at the Foreign Minister level. This has been accompanied by a resumption of some Soviet spare parts for Sadat's anxious army, a flow which could increase. Egyptian diplomats in the United States are seriously worried and a post-election meeting with Carter's adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski has not quelled their uneasiness. Setting the tone for the coming months, the editor of *Al Akhbar*, a major Egyptian daily, wrote immediately after Carter's victory that "Arabs everywhere don't welcome the success of Carter." And *Al Ahram*, Cairo's most prestigious newspaper, called upon the entire Arab world to form a united front and find new ways to use oil as a political weapon in response to Carter's Israeli orientation. The impending OPEC meeting may well see a greater price rise than would have been the situation had President Ford retained office—something of an add-on for political effect.

The Arabs will be demanding of Carter persuasive signs of policy carryover—Saudi Arabia as well as Egypt is especially concerned since it too has gambled the future on Washington. Yet the Israelis and organized American Jewry think Carter is pledged to undo the Ford-Kissinger "reassessment" (which Carter condemned during the second debate) and to return the United States to the Israeli side of the bargaining table (rather than maintain, as under Kissinger, the role of active intermediary).

If Carter deviates from the direction taken by American policy since the Yom Kippur war, the Middle East could quickly become unstable and unpredictable. If he does not deviate, and thus ignores the positions he so loudly proclaimed during the campaign, organized American Jewry may be shocked into trying to foment a political brawl. Such a major threat to domestic tranquillity would endanger the new President's relationship with the Democratic but pro-Israel Congress. Indeed, the reaction of American Jewry to continuing attempts to force concessions from Israel may be far more vociferous toward Carter than it would have been had the combined Ford-Kissinger team stayed around to do much the same thing.

Carter did poorly among Jewish voters in the primaries. Consequently in the Presidential campaign he set out to appeal to Jewish sensibilities. Yet even so, 30 to 35 per cent of the Jewish vote went to Ford. Simply put, this "born again" Southern Baptist would have done very badly among Jews had he not made a striking shift in his public statements about the Middle East.

Back in November of last year, Carter was thoughtfully saying such things as:

> I think the community of nations has got to recognize some basic principles of a settlement on a permanent basis in the Middle East, and I think one of the integral parts of an ultimate settlement has got to be the recognition of the Palestinians as a people, as a nation, with a place to live and a right to choose their own leaders.

In the early months of this year he said, "I favor early movements to discussion of the outlines of an overall settlement" in the Middle East.

Such views flashed red lights before Jewish officialdom. A number of key Jewish individuals and organizations, and indirectly the Israeli Embassy, quickly "persuaded"

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Governor Carter to adopt different views. Whether he did so simply by ignoring for a time his awareness of Middle East realities or whether he was captured by opposing domestic political realities will be known only after he assumes the Presidency.

To some extent, Carter's campaign was colored by advisers who exploited Jewish leverage in an attempt to create a dike against further pressures on Israel. Early in the campaign, for instance, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC, which in Washington is "the Jewish lobby") in effect threw its support to Carter. Edward Sanders, a Los Angeles attorney who was president of AIPAC, had his name inked out on the committee's letterheads (though he was not replaced) and took himself to Atlanta to join the campaign organization. The president of the United Jewish Appeal, Paul Zuckerman, also joined Carter's Atlanta staff. The involvement of the Jewish establishment with Carter became so extensive that in the thick of the campaign in October one Jewish leader well connected at the Ford White House jokingly suggested, "If Ford should win, Morry Amitay [executive director of AIPAC for the past two years] will have twenty-four hours to get out of town."

Even I.L. Kenen, the founder and former executive director of AIPAC, appeared to be questioning the wisdom of the open association with Carter when, in the October 13th issue of the lobby's weekly newsletter he wrote, "This observer has never endorsed or rated candidates for offices. . . ." In private, Kenen has been expressing considerable anxiety, rising at times to harsh criticism, over the partisan tactics adopted by AIPAC. Though some consider Carter's victory justification for what otherwise would have been seen as excesses, AIPAC's out-front role in the campaign, together with its increasingly belligerent tone on Capitol Hill, has led to an intense discussion of the way the lobby promotes Jewish and Israeli interests. One knowledgeable Washington academic, who is often consulted on political matters by the Israeli Embassy, says: "I've heard more anti-lobby criticism in the past two years than in all the years before."

As for the less direct Israeli involvement, journalist Robert Scheer, who traveled with Carter to prepare the *Playboy* interview, reported in *New Times* on the involvement of members of the Israeli Embassy with persons at the Brookings Institution who advise Carter on the Middle East—especially its foreign policy studies director Henry Owen. After seeing a confidential memo from Owen to Carter about what approach to take on Middle East questions, Scheer concluded: "Carter was doing what all other Presidential candidates before him had done—he was garnering pro-Israel votes rather than discussing foreign policy." This catering to Jewish emotions reached its climax in the foreign policy debate with Ford.

What the campaign within a campaign was all about was analyzed by *Washington Post* writer Stephen Isaacs in the final weeks before Election Day. The arithmetic of Electoral College votes makes the Jews in the large states a potential swing factor of great importance in a close election. David Lissy, who was handling Jewish affairs for the Ford White House, saw the Jewish vote as potentially pivotal in New York, California, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Florida and Illinois.

Emerging victorious, Carter is now surrounded by two groups that want desperately to influence his Middle East policies. First, there are the academics such as Owen and Brzezinski who are indeed aware of Middle East realities and Arab apprehensions. Carter's written statements throughout the campaign did reflect at least some sensitivity to political realities beyond election opportunism. Indeed, Brzezinski in early 1975 advised a firm American determination to bring about an overall settlement that would include "what would probably be the PLO-dominated state of Palestine." "Israeli inflexibility," Brzezinski and others noted in a *Foreign Policy* article, "places maximum stress on . . . vital [U.S.] support."

The Dark at the Beginning of the Tunnel

In the closing days of the campaign one political analyst wrote that Daniel Patrick Moynihan could lose the New York Senatorial race only if he were to do something like come out for an independent Palestinian state—exactly what Carter's foreign policy adviser had been advocating before he hushed up lest he make himself unacceptable for a foreign affairs post in the new administration.

The other group seeking to dominate Carter's Middle East policies includes the issues coordinator for the campaign, Stuart Eizenstat, along with Edward Sanders,

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Zuckerman and others who take a far more pro-Israel position. Which of these competing circles will wield the greater influence in a Carter Presidency is unknowable, though it is only reasonable to expect less deference to Jewish demands. The basic issue will probably reduce itself to this: though the Middle East is sure to start smoking again if nothing happens diplomatically after the inaugural, President Carter may not dare risk his credibility, based on positions taken during the campaign, in a major series of political battles with the Jewish-Israeli lobby. Just as Ford and Kissinger had to drop plans to push for an overall settlement, and reluctantly resume step-by-step diplomacy, Carter may make only some token gestures toward the Arabs to buy time rather than provoke the Israelis with quick demands for major concessions. With the Israeli elections approaching in October 1977, and should there be a resurgence of Arab turmoil, this way out may seem rather inviting to a President just settling in on Pennsylvania Avenue.

Indeed, what took place in early 1975 after the breakdown of shuttle diplomacy could well be repeated in Carter's first months. At that time, faced with the decision to delay or take bold action, Kissinger chose to defer to American political pressures. Questioned by Edward R. F. Sheehan (author of the recent *The Arabs, Israelis and Kissinger*) on why he didn't push for a comprehensive settlement in 1975, Kissinger remarked: "What were the alternatives? The conflict in the Middle East has a history of decades. Only during the last two years have we produced progress. It's easy to say that what we've done is not enough, but the steps we've taken are the biggest steps so far. They were the attainable—given the prevailing domestic situation."

Ford, of course, also realized the urgent need to reach for the Jewish vote. He remembered Nixon's success, was informed of Jewish uneasiness with a Southern Baptist, and understood the Electoral College's magnification of Jewish influence. But he was well aware throughout that Kissinger's Middle East policies had frightened Israeli leaders and he knew how Jerusalem and the American Jewish lobby pass on cues to American Jewry. It is remarkable that he did as well as he did.

By September, the Israelis had begun coolly to play both sides, preferring Carter but cautious now that the election was becoming a tossup. It was those associated with AIPAC in coalition with those running the umbrella organization known as the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (chaired by Rabbi Alexander Schindler and administered by Executive Director Yehuda Hellman) that stuck firmly to the Carter bandwagon. In fact, this American Jewish establishment alignment with Carter had "some Israeli Government people shaking in their boots," according to one Jewish leader, apprehensive that Ford might remember his enemies if he survived.

In essence, Carter outbid Ford with the Jews. One of Ford's Jewish followers bitterly reflected in the closing days of the campaign, "It's remarkable that the Jewish community would fall for Carter who has only given cheap promises, while Ford has tried to take a positive, balanced approach." To sum it up, the most important political agents of the American Jewish community chose Carter, and did so early. The Israelis, while anxious about Ford, wisely remained less committed to the Governor. They tactfully refrained from blundering into public support for either candidate as happened in 1972 when then Ambassador Rabin gave Nixon a de facto endorsement.

There was toward the end considerable Israeli concern that the lobby had stuck its neck too far out this time—which may partially explain the Israeli Foreign Minister's meeting with Ford at the White House on October 11 (when the announcement of more sophisticated arms for Israel was made). But in general, most Israelis hoped, and still hope, that things would go better for them with the new man, pledged to a backward-looking platform plank (which remarkably even promotes moving the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem at such a sensitive time in Middle East history). Few Israelis could forget that Ford was the man who allowed the "reassessment" to take place, fought hard to cut "transitional quarter" aid to Israel, approved major arms and economic deals with various Arab countries, and opposed confrontational anti-boycott legislation.

Nevertheless, even the most vehement American backers of the tough Israeli approach are becoming aware that it would be naive to assume that either the party platform planks or the public campaign statements adequately reflect expectations for U.S. Middle East policy in the coming year. Even the editor of AIPAC's weekly newsletter, Wolf Blitzer, wrote some months ago (choosing the *Jerusalem Post* over his own publication, *Near East Report*) that "The real crunch for Israel will probably come during 1977 if Ford is elected—it will be delayed by only a few months if a Democratic candidate wins." And in July the editor of the *Jerusalem Post*, reporting on a recent American visit, concluded that "Washington and Jerusalem are . . . headed toward an inevitable collision. . . . The year 1977 will also be a year of a real American push toward a solution of the Middle East conflict. The United States will lean heavily on Israel, even to the extent of imposing a settlement." Just a few months earlier, in May, a former Director-General of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, Walter Eytan, put things even more succinctly: "It is taken for granted," he warned, "that whoever is elected President this November . . . will not let matters drift as they have for so many years in the past."

Taken together, these perceptively candid views reflect Israeli awareness of the emerging American consensus on an approach to Middle East diplomacy in 1977. It is to be hoped that Carter will be influenced at least as much by this consensus as by the Jewish-Israeli lobby.

Ending the policy drift mentioned by Walter Eytan was what the April-May 1975 "reassessment" was all about. And though such counter-efforts as the lobby-inspired May 1975 letter from seventy-six Senators who unequivocally supported Israeli policies caused a soft-

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pedaling of the reassessment's conclusions, the basic framework of American policy remains what was first charted during that period of shuttling. It has been best publicly outlined in the Brookings Institution report, "Toward Peace in the Middle East," released last December.

The conclusions of the report have steadily gained visibility and respectability. During the summer they were strongly endorsed by a parade of Middle East experts, including a number of prominent American Jews who testified before the McGovern Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) on "Prospects for Peace in the Middle East." According to Senator McGovern, these hearings were designed to provide "sound advice to the Senate as a whole and to the executive branch on future initiatives in U.S. policy."

This Brookings report, which one Israeli newspaper termed "officially sanctioned," provided the most comprehensive public outline of what amounts to the new post-Yom Kippur war consensus on what should be U.S. policy. In brief: Israel's gradual withdrawal to the 1967 borders; recognition of the "principle of Palestinian self-determination" (i.e., creation of some kind of Palestinian state); resolution, probably at Geneva, of all outstanding issues including Jerusalem; implementation of the agreement over a period of several years; multilateral and bilateral guarantees for Israel's security, including a unique commitment from the United States; specific acts establishing Arab recognition of Israel.

That the Brookings report has not been attacked (as such things usually are) by the Israeli Government or by American Jewish organizations acting as surrogates, should not be taken as indicating support or even of acceptance. Outwardly there has been an attempt to ignore it in the United States, even though the Israeli press has reported it widely. Behind the scenes the Israeli Embassy, including Ambassador Dinitz himself, has worked hard to prevent a number of the Jewish members of the panel from endorsing the report's conclusions—especially on 1967 borders and Palestinian rights. Bertram Gold, executive director of the American Jewish Committee and the only "Jewish professional" involved (most of the others hold academic appointments) did hold back. But Phillip Klutznick (one of American Jewry's most respected elder statesmen) approved, and in doing so largely immunized the report from public attack.

Among the sixteen signers are Zbigniew Brzezinski (Columbia University), John C. Campbell (Council on Foreign Relations), Malcolm Kerr (University of California, Los Angeles) and former U.N. Ambassador Charles Yost. Henry Owen of Brookings played a major role in setting up the project.

Before the 94th Congress adjourned, Congressional endorsement for the Brookings report accelerated. Besides the McGovern hearings, a bipartisan organization known as Members of Congress for Peace Through Law (MCPL) is seeking support. The same is true within the Jewish community, where an organization known as *Breira* (which is Hebrew for "alternative") has been promoting the report. And the new Jewish monthly *Moment* carried an article in its September issue by Harvard Prof. Nadav Safran, another member of the study group, proclaiming the report a blueprint for peace.

In short, academic, Jewish and Congressional support now lining up behind the conclusions outlined in this short document could provide the incoming administration with the "excuse" it may need to press hard with such policies. As one political columnist has said, the Brookings report represents a return to the basic equation for a Middle East settlement first outlined in the 1970 Rogers Plan, which remains the overall position of the U.S. Government.

Fear that pressures may be building to reassert this view is something the Israeli Government has not hidden very well. One result has been a largely unsuccessful though painful attempt to quash in the United States further Jewish community dissent from Israeli policies. This situation is largely unknown to Middle East analysts; but it may be one of the most significant new developments.

Into the web of political rethinking has come an unprecedented wave of American Jewish criticism of Israeli policies and attitudes. Both Stanley Karnow, a senior Washington political columnist who formerly was foreign affairs editor for *The New Republic,* and again Stephen Rosenfeld have recently commented on the meaning of the deepening fissures within the American Jewish community.

"One of the most significant developments in years is the growing willingness on the part of American Jews to criticize publicly Israeli policies," Karnow wrote in his syndicated column in July. "This development is important," he continued, "because it means U.S. politicians need not endorse Israel's behavior automatically, as many have in the past, out of concern that they will be confronted by an antagonistic American Jewish community whose political influence is considerable. . . . The U.S. may be able to exercise more flexibility with Israel as it seeks a settlement to the constantly worsening situation in the Middle East."

In the previously mentioned *Present Tense* article, Stephen Rosenfeld also drew attention to the changing nature of American Jewish attitudes and influence. The "stirrings in the American political outlook and specifically in American Jewish opinion" are "extremely important." They constitute, Rosenfeld indicated, "a major political fact sure to affect the Middle East policy of the administration that will take office in January 1977. In brief, Rosenfeld continued, "a new administration would be under more pressure from the general public, and under less restraint by American Jews, to push more vigorously for a comprehensive Middle East settlement—despite the certainty that such a push would severely tax the complex relationship between Israel and the United States."

Irving Howe, author of the best-selling new book *World of Our Fathers,* has wisely put forth the logical question that Jewish intellectuals may soon have to face.

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"Suppose America is pushing toward a proper kind of settlement?" he asked recently in a *Jerusalem Post* interview. "What I would do then I honestly don't know. Would I say: Israel has the right to self-determination even if it is mistaken? Or would I say, if Israel continues along this course, it's going to back itself into a position where there might be a disastrous war which it might even lose because America wouldn't support it?"

Though this is a live question, and Howe is right to point out that even most dissenting Jews have yet to deal with it, it is also essential to realize that American Jewish criticism of Israeli policies comes from identification with, not separation from, the Jewish state. Rosenfeld is correct to warn bluntly that there is "no falling away of support for the security and survival of Israel, despite the tendency of some anxious partisans to read just that result, if not that purpose, into the Capital's increasingly frank political dialogue."

Still, the attacks upon public Jewish questioning of Israeli positions remain fierce. Three major Jewish organizations held meetings over the summer on this very issue. The most important, the Presidents' Conference, met in New York in June and the consensus, as summarized by chairman Schindler, was that when Jewish dissent "goes public . . . the result is to give aid and comfort to the enemy."

In response, Irving Howe charged that the relentless campaign to prohibit thought and expression now "verges on . . . witch hunting." "Such a course, if allowed to continue," he wrote in the June issue of the monthly *Breira* newsletter *interChange*, "would make the life of the American Jewish community lifeless; a mere ritual of parades, resolutions, and generous checks."

Breira is as yet a small organization and a pariah in most "proper" circles. It acts as the cutting edge, absorbing the most vicious criticism and breaking a path for those reluctant to be too far out front. But potentially, *Breira* is the most interesting development in American Jewish life in recent memory. It is opening up a pro-Israeli but, at least in part, non-Zionist, alternative which is more representative of the bulk of America's Jewish intellectuals than are the positions of any of the established Jewish organizations. Yet *Breira* faces major political, ideological and organizational challenges in the coming months and there are widespread doubts whether the fledgling organization can really become a force in either American Jewish communal life or American politics.

It is even more questionable what effect *Breira*-type ideas can have upon the political scene in Israel. A Washington *Breira* spokesman, Rabbi David Saperstein, reported last February:

> I can tell you from off-the-record discussions that we have had with leading figures in the Israeli Government that they welcome our efforts. The Israeli Government is under enormous pressure from the conservative elements to take a hard line. . . . They don't have a political base in the American Jewish community that might support a more liberal approach. . . . They welcome with open arms the development of *Breira*, and hope for the growth of *Breira* in order to give them some strength outside of Israel.

But well-meaning *Breira* leaders are probably deceiving themselves as to just how welcome their interventions are, except among a few scattered Israeli politicians. As for affecting Israeli politics, *Breira*'s only hope is so to weaken American support for current Israeli policies as to force policy changes, by U.S. imposition if necessary. Hence, *Breira* is participating in the creation of the "showdown," not liberalizing attitudes in Israel.

Israelis remain deeply suspicious of the Arabs and increasingly of the United States. Few of them are aware that belief in Kissinger's "moment of unprecedented opportunity" has become widespread and that the new American consensus is swiftly altering American willingness to defer to Israeli perceptions. Harvard sociologist Nathan Glazer, commenting on Israel's predicament in the November issue of *interChange*, outlines the necessity for Israel to adopt a position similar to the new American consensus. With an American-Israeli "showdown" becoming more, not less, likely the Israeli Government should carefully review such advice.

Yet the Labor Party coalition in Israel is still a victim of political paralysis and Zionist myopia. The doves flutter and propagate, but basic policies remain rigid. Worse yet, it appears that the October 1977 election will produce a continuation of the present coalition or the formation of a broad "national unity" government which would be even more frozen and able only to perpetuate the "decisions not to decide."

Faced with this situation, President Carter will have to be not only forceful to ease Arab anxieties; he will need as well to shock Israel into realizing that neither internal Israeli politics nor the American Jewish lobby will be allowed to block the pursuit of an overall settlement along the lines of the consensus outlined in the Brookings report.

American approval in early November of the Security Council's "consensus statement" condemning Israeli policies in Jerusalem and the occupied territories was a start, however unfortunate, in the right direction. A further useful step would be to continue the process of recognizing "Palestinian national rights"—something begun a year ago when State Department spokesman Harold Saunders told a subcommittee of the Congress that "In many ways, the Palestinian dimension of the Arab-Israeli conflict is the heart of the conflict." A Presidential statement early in 1977 specifying the need for a Palestinian homeland in Palestine to coexist with Israel could set in motion a process of moderate assertiveness in both Israel and the PLO.

Even during the transition period between American administrations, the PLO has made overtures that could lead to resumption of the Geneva Conference and Palestinian acceptance of a two-state solution, as was originally envisioned by the U.N. in 1947.

With Yassir Arafat's blessing, two PLO spokesmen met recently in Europe with leading Israeli doves (rumored

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to have had at least Rabin's acquiescence). In the United States the same two representatives, Sabri Jiryis and Issam Sartawi, met during October and November with American Jews, many of them well-placed in American Jewish organizations. More important, through two intermediaries they had discussions with officials at the highest levels of the State Department. There are clear indications that when the 153-member Palestine National Council—the embryonic Parliament of the Palestinians—meets in Cairo in January, a public willingness to accept a West Bank/Gaza Strip state and to coexist with Israel will be expressed. Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the PLO's political department, has already indicated that "We accept establishment of a state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip" and that "this means that we stop armed struggle when we have the state."

A reasonable American response to this evolution in PLO attitudes—one which the United States has sought for nearly two years—might be to allow PLO representatives to staff the new PLO information office which is being established in Washington. Such a step would encourage a dialogue but still be far short of diplomatic relations or even an invitation to Geneva. Failure to respond to PLO initiatives at this point would only further delay what has become inevitable and could discredit the present moderate PLO leadership, thus reducing hope for a comprehensive settlement in the coming year.

To sum up, 1977 is likely to be the toughest year ever in Israeli-American relations. If Carter does not severely press Israel he will experience a collision with the Arabs. Whether the United States and Israel will actually reach a crisis point of "showdown" is now pretty much up to the Israelis. It is not likely that the United States will actually attempt to impose terms on Israel during the coming year, even though American leverage has become immense. But such a bold gambit might evolve within a few years if the new stalemate cannot be cut through soon—or after another war which some experts in Washington are predicting.

What can be said for sure is that, assuming the settlement in Lebanon holds and the Arabs, as a collective, resume their demands for a political agreement with Israel in exchange for the return of territory and a solution of the "Palestinian problem," the United States will press and cajole Israel finally to put its own cards on the table at Geneva or some other forum. □

APARTHEID: THE EARTH TREMBLES

Vorster's White Opposition

WILLIAM GAITHER

Ever since the township of Soweto erupted in violent confrontation and bloody rioting on June 16, heavy American press coverage has led to a rapidly growing public awareness of the unique horrors that exist in South Africa. Unfortunately, because that initial conflict and the deeper tensions that brought it to the surface center on the struggle between blacks and whites, certain misconceptions have also grown. The assumption that each group is monolithic and unified, one to the preservation of the status quo, the other to its overthrow, is an oversimplification that has allowed certain, primarily political, events of long-range consequence to pass unnoticed. In South Africa, conflict and division begin, but hardly end, with color.

For the first time since it came to power in 1948, Prime Minister John Vorster's National Party faces a serious challenge from opposing factions within the white minority. Led by the fifteen-month-old Progressive Reform Party, white South Africa is on the verge of splitting once again along ethnic lines, Afrikaner and English-speaking.

The history of this separation is in some ways similar to that of competing European minorities in the United States during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Unlike the United States, however, these groups were competing, not for inclusion into the middle class of the established order but for control of the country and the power to establish the order according to distinctly differing visions. Despite the uneasy alliance that has existed since independence from Great Britain in 1961, the traditionally conservative Afrikaner and the more liberal South Africans of English heritage have continued to practice their own voluntary apartheid while sharing the prerogatives reserved for the ruling class.

Since 1948, the Afrikaners' National Party has governed a rapidly expanding industrial nation that until recently enjoyed a real growth rate of 7 to 8 per cent annually, second only to Japan in the developed world. Sitting on top of the world's largest reserves of gold, platinum, chrome and diamonds, and 30 per cent of the known uranium deposits, South Africa possessed yet another natural resource needed to attract foreign investment: a seemingly endless supply of cheap, black labor. The high wages paid to whites and the favorable rate of return earned by investors (12 to 15 per cent was within the average) resulted in a consumer-oriented society and a political complacency that steadily expanded the power base of the National Party.

There was a price to be paid, however, primarily in the form of a sacrifice of individual liberties for the con-

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tinuing benefit of the privileged class as a whole. Throughout this century, laws designed to protect economic prosperity at the expense of the black majority have been commonplace, and their effect has extended beyond the black community they were primarily designed to control.

Beginning in 1950 with the Suppression of Communism Act, which gave the Minister of Justice the power to label individuals as Communists and ban them from political activity, legislation has been increasingly directed at limiting and controlling dissent against and deviation from the Nationalist vision of the good life.

Since independence the siege mentality of the Afrikaner has been given full vent against those suspected of being a danger to the security of the white camp. The Publication Control Board of 1963 set up a national censorship council; the Terrorism Act of 1967 contained an unlimited detention clause; the Prohibition of Political Interference Act of 1968 outlawed racially mixed political parties; the Official Secrets Act was amended in 1969 to restrict the evidence accused persons could use in their own defense if such evidence was considered not in the best interest of the state. These laws and dozens of others were justified as measures designed to protect the minority from the subversive activities of the majority. In reality, the distinction between nation and National Party has become faint among those who have been in power for twenty-eight years. The Minister of Agriculture was not alluding to black nationalists when he declared in August: "The day is fast approaching when South Africa will have to say there is no more time for the man who does not stand or fall by the government."

The re-emergence of political opposition comes largely as a reaction to the narrow identification of cause and country expressed by that threat. If the summer rioting set the movement in motion, what is being called the worst business year since the depression had already prepared the stage. The national growth rate has dropped below 2 per cent and in the boom economy that has developed over the last quarter century, 5 per cent is considered the bare minimum needed to avoid large-scale unemployment. In late October both General Motors and Volkswagen shut down their Port Elizabeth plants for two weeks, making more than 5,000 workers idle. That same week, the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers predicted that the industry stood to lose more than $12.5 million by the end of the year. The Bureau for Economic Research at Stellenbosch University rounded out the gloomy forecast by releasing statistics which showed that two-thirds of manufacturers, 55 per cent of wholesalers and 70 per cent of retailers were reporting business levels lower than those of a year ago.

A further indication of the recession is the fact that of the 2 per cent projected growth, a substantial portion is accounted for by the creation of alternative sources of energy, nuclear power and oil derived from coal receiving the primary emphasis. Since 1972, oil imports have increased from $218.5 million to $1,167 million and the cost of petroleum products has jumped 472 per cent. The difficulties these increases have caused may be judged by the fact that fuel rationing, first enacted in 1973, has recently been extended to the closing of all garages during weekends. The OPEC meeting this month is widely expected to add at least another $207 million to the trade deficit.

Largely as a result of these fuel increases, inflation is currently running at 12 per cent. With consumer demand ebbing and dependence on foreign oil bringing about a $225.5 million trade deficit in September, the prospects are for a continuing decrease in foreign investment, unavailability of long-term loans and sharp decline in profits.

When British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan delivered his "winds of change" speech to the Cape Town Parliament in February of 1960, he was speaking of the rising forces of black nationalism. South Africa gave its answer a month later in the Sharpeville massacre. Now, sixteen years later, economic frustration fans the sparks set off by Soweto. Emboldened by the openly liberal goals and election victories of the Progressive Reform Party (PRP), business leaders have begun to call for social and economic reforms that strike at the heart of apartheid or separate development or, to use what seems to be the latest public relations euphemism, "plural democracies."

John Vorster

In August, the Transvaal Chamber of Industries recommended that pay and job barriers be removed, that the government recognize the permanency of urban black pop-

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ulations and that blacks be given full self-government within their townships. Vorster's silence was deafening.

In mid-October, at the annual meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom), a national body representing the leading business interests of South Africa, the 200 delegates gave unanimous approval to a list of reforms the Prime Minister could not ignore. Taking the Transvaal statement even further, Assocom called for the rights of blacks to own property, termination of the migrant labor system (at present, foreign labor constitutes 57 per cent of the black work force in the mines, while more than half a million black South Africans are unemployed), removal of all racial barriers on jobs and creation of "free trading" zones where all races could freely conduct business.

Vorster quickly struck back, warning Assocom directly that attempts to coerce the government would fail. Telling them to stick to commenting on issues bearing directly on business, he declared that "change must come through political processes." The rising fortunes of the PRP suggest that his words have been taken at face value.

Most of the PRP's success has come at the expense of the compliant government Opposition, the United Party. Feeling pressure from the Left, UP leader Sir de Villiers Graaff, in a speech last August that acknowledged his sagging support, called for the creation of a wide-based party of opposition. Titling his move the "Save South Africa Campaign," Graaff went on record with a list of priorities that, within the context of this society, bordered on the revolutionary. As outlined, his platform was divided into three categories:

(*1*) Participation in government:

Acceptance of the principle that all races should be represented.

Direct representation of all races on bodies affecting their lives.

Full local government for blacks in metropolitan townships.

Freedom of choice of citizenship for those blacks living permanently outside their homelands.

(*2*) Urban renewal:

Home ownership.

Relief of transportation difficulties.

Control over education.

(*3*) Removal of statutory discrimination:

Elimination of forced segregation.

Equal economic opportunity for all.

This list, a somewhat milder version of the PRP platform, nevertheless attempts, point by point, to satisfy every major call for reform made by the blacks since the summer riots. By aligning the United Party on the side of meaningful change, Graaff hopes to bring about a merger with the PRP. To emphasize his determination he offered to renounce any position of leadership in the new party; that is a public invitation to Colin Eglin, PRP leader, to assume control.

Recent surveys indicate that this may be Graaff's last chance to participate from a position of power in the formation of a new party. Fully 38 per cent of UP voters have shifted allegiance since the general elections in 1974, with the PRP picking up nearly 70 per cent of the defectors. Both Graaff and Eglin are well aware that in 1974, the National Party was able to win dozens of seats in the House of Assembly because the moderate and liberal vote was split. With the Johannesburg City Council elections slated for early March the pressure mounts, not simply for a deal but for a quick one.

It now seems that one is in the offing: by mid-October a UP-PRP steering committee was at work on a platform of common ground. The rapid progress from the August announcement to the October meetings, suggests that most of the major points had been worked out beforehand. Speculation in the South African press reports puts the official joining to form a new party at no later than early next January.

The ability of Vorster to survive this new opposition is certain. At the same time, the strength of his National Party, 123 seats in the House of Assembly to thirty-six for the UP and twelve for the PRP, is not as overwhelming as it seems. In both the 1970 and 1974 general elections the NP polled only slightly more than 50 per cent of the voting electorate. The distribution of Parliamentary seats gives an overrepresentation to the 20 per cent of the white population still living outside urban areas. This farming group comprises the bedrock of Vorster's support; with it, he could carry a minority of the vote and still retain the majority in Parliament. It may indeed come to that, as in the past both left and right wings have splintered under less pressure than now exists. Only the absence of a coalition of moderates and liberals kept the NP margin safe.

Vorster continues to pay tribute to the cornerstone of the party—separate development. As late as early November he stated that the determination of the government has not altered. This seems unlikely; rumblings of discontent within the moderate elements of the NP can already be heard, with Louis Nel, elected in 1970, perhaps the most vocal in his call for full ownership of property in the townships and representation in local governments. During that election Vorster concentrated on beating back the challenge from the ultra-reactionary Herstigte (reconstituted or purified) National Party that had broken with the NP over what its members considered the Prime Minister's unseemly obeisance to black leaders of bordering African states. Vorster's efforts and their extremist position limited them to a paltry 53,000 votes in the general election, but with all his attention directed toward the far Right, the NP lost eight House of Assembly seats to moderates, its first setback since coming to power. Vorster learned his lesson; in any upcoming struggle, possible defection among his own liberal faction will be of far greater concern to him.

At this point a degree of speculation is unavoidable, but by tying together the disparate elements, historical, economic and political, it is possible to amass a compelling body of fact and logic pointing to a future in which liberalizing forces will play at least a moderating role. The historical split between Afrikaners and English

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has become a luxury the white minority can no longer afford. A divided South Africa cannot deal effectively with the many opposing forces that now confront it.

Economically, a continuation of an official policy of apartheid has even less to offer. A recent Chamber of Mines forecast predicted a 21 per cent shortage of skilled labor by the end of the decade. By 1990, continued expansion will necessitate placing blacks in 1.4 million jobs now denied them by law. Within the professional and technical categories this comes to 180,000 vacancies. The policy of racial exclusion from jobs began with the Mines and Works Act of 1911, which reserved the technical and skilled positions for whites, fixed the ratio of black to white workers and began the practice of contract labor. Mean-spirited as it was, high unemployment among Afrikaners at least lent the Act a perverse logic. Today, however, as with so many other South African laws and customs, the rationale has long since faded, leaving only the ugly habit.

It is now being realized that a narrow-based, affluent class of whites cannot support the system's domestic production in any but the best of times. Having kept blacks at subsistence levels for its own enrichment, industry now finds itself at the mercy of extremely small fluctuations in consumer demand. The policies being pushed by the PRP, the UP and by business leaders are an acknowledgment that a black middle class is necessary not only for peace but for prosperity. Economic reform has been undertaken for economic reasons and, as with any industrial society, the profit motive carries a majesty and appeal to reason that simple altruism lacks.

South African manufacturing, sophisticated by comparison with the rest of the continent, is still too labor-intensive to compete on the world market. It is not, however, too expensive to compete for the bulk of the African market. Beginning with its Outward Policy in 1967, Vorster has attempted to cultivate trade relations with some success. Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi and even Mozambique, which still sends more than 100,000 workers a year to South African mines, have been forced by economic necessity to maintain a quiet trade that offsets their vocal denunciation of apartheid. Increasingly, South Africa needs the stamp of approval from organizations such as the OAU that will permit open and extended commerce. The universal rejection of the Transkei has shown that separate development of the homelands will not bring this about.

Thus, it seems likely that real economic opportunities will begin to open up for the black population. It is also likely that these reforms will come about by promoting whites to higher positions now vacant, while allowing the blacks to rise into the lower levels. For Vorster, the substance of apartheid can be maintained while specific remedies are offered at the points of greatest pressure.

It would be simplistic to believe that liberal initiatives herald the onset of a quick change to a multiracial society. John Vorster is still in power and he will do no more than he feels he must to survive. For those living at subsistence levels, small, basic changes cannot be discounted. Increased pay, some chance for promotion, the right to own property and vote in local elections, an improved life style and some hope where before there was none, are powerful incentives. While the rest of the world ponders the likelihood of open rebellion and racial war, South African whites are buying themselves time and at least pushing back the inevitable. The all or nothing confrontation must suddenly make room for, and consider the power of, small concessions. □

In Hock to the U.S. Banks

REED KRAMER

The economic relationship between white-ruled South Africa and U.S. financial interests has quietly undergone a dramatic shift this year. It is a development certain to overshadow in significance the more-publicized Kissinger diplomatic moves in the region.

At a time of unprecedented political turmoil in South Africa, major U.S. financial institutions have moved in with more than $700 million to shore up the hard-pressed Pretoria regime. The biggest U.S. banks have organized and participated in a number of multimillion-dollar loans to the South African governments, state-owned corporations and private projects. As a result, U.S. indirect investment (mostly bank loans) in South Africa has for the first time in history surpassed the direct stake held there by some 300 American corporations. The latest major credit agreement was signed in late October—a $110 million loan to the government from a syndicate led by Citibank and co-managed by Morgan Guaranty Trust. Total lending to South Africa by American banks and their overseas subsidiaries has now surpassed $2 billion—nearly double what it was one year ago. By comparison, direct U.S. investment, which totals about $1.6 billion, has slowed its headlong rush of recent years, and may even show a decline for 1976.

According to sources in Wall Street and South Africa, the banks and the government negotiated for more than two months before concluding the recent credit pact, which the white regime desperately needs to offset a trade deficit that may exceed $2 billion this year. (Last year's $1.7 billion deficit was a record.)

South Africa is borrowing heavily to finance massive development projects and boost its defense spending. The result has been inflation at home—about 20 per cent for key consumer goods—which has wiped out most of the benefits black workers have won in recent

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pay hikes. Late last year, the government had to devalue its currency 18 per cent, but many experts say it is still overvalued. The real growth rate, which topped 7 per cent in 1974 and dropped to 2.5 per cent last year, will likely show a further decline in 1976.

The government budgeted and planned on the assumption that the price of gold would remain between $150 and $200 per ounce, but it fell to $104 in August and has recently been running about $130. Income from this number-one export earner will fall far short of what is needed. Some of the huge new projects may have to be delayed or scrapped, but defense expenditures will certainly continue to rise.

With falling gold prices and heightened black resistance, Pretoria is under tremendous pressure. It is hard to imagine where it would be right now without borrowed funds. Last year, according to available data, South Africa obtained $550 million in Eurocurrency loans and $185 million through Eurobonds. (The Euromarket is made up of major currencies which are on deposit outside their home countries.)

In just one transaction last April—a "gold swap" with Swiss banks—Pretoria borrowed more than $500 million. South Africa has also borrowed at least $200 million directly from British and French banks (not via the Euromarket), and the International Monetary Fund in two separate transactions has loaned the government $357 million in recent months.

South Africa's biggest borrowers are the government and the state-owned enterprises. This year for the first time, the public sector is accounting for more of total capital inflow than the private sector—a trend that makes South Africa more dependent than it ever was on Western financial interests—and is costing more money.

South Africa is paying between 1.5 and 2 per cent above the London Interbank Offer Rate (Libor) for its loans, while many other countries are raising substantial capital at Libor-plus-1 per cent or less. No longer can South Africa negotiate ten-year loans, as it did even last year. And payments on the medium-term credits it is now receiving begin in six to eighteen months. Most loans carry one-year renewal clauses that allow the lenders to get out with little penalty.

Even medium-term credits are becoming hard to find. The government asked Citibank for $300 million, but the participating banks cut that in half and then to $110 million—because "everyone's lending ceiling for South Africa went down recently," according to one expert. "They won't get any more major loans here for several months," says a New York bank official; "they are trying to find the rest [of the $300 million] in Europe." But according to the Agefi International Bondletter, the door of the Euromarket is nearly closed to South Africa.

Another indication of South Africa's credit problems is the recent U.S. Export-Import Bank decision to pull out of a $2 billion coal gasification project, SASOL II, which is to be built by the California-based Fluor Corporation. Ex-Im originally planned to provide at least $200 million in loan guarantees—a briefing paper defending the decision had been written to meet Congressional criticism—but the board suddenly reversed itself in June, after South African police killed hundreds of student demonstrators in Soweto. Dillon Read, the New York investment banking company, which has been hired to find financing for SASOL II now has a tough job on its hands. The government may have to delay the venture indefinitely.

The SASOL II refusal was Pretoria's second disappointment at Ex-Im this year. Fluor and the construction lobby began pressing the White House late last year to lift the ban on direct Ex-Im loans to South Africa. They argued that SASOL II contracts would create jobs and boost earnings here, and they got twenty-one Senators to co-sign an appeal to President Ford. But the National Security Council concluded that foreign policy interests are being served by the loan restriction. Only the Pentagon, which favors military cooperation with South Africa, and the Energy Research and Development Administration—which is interested in the coal gasification technology and in uranium, endorsed an end to the ban in the NSC study.

Direct loans with Ex-Im guarantees *are* made, however, by the Private Export Funding Corporation. PEFCO, capitalized by some sixty American banks and financial institutions, "was set up to take risks where commercial markets leave off," according to Ex-Im Vice President Stephen Minikes. "Obviously South Africa is such a situation," he says. PEFCO's $108 million in loans to South Africa represents 10 per cent of its total lending worldwide.

American regional banks, which when they entered the competition for foreign business in the early 1970s became an important source of credit for South Africa, have more recently grown "gun shy." In June, Foskor (the state-owned Phosphate Development Corporation) tried to raise a $30 million loan from U.S. regionals, but according to the Johannesburg *Financial Mail* was finally forced to turn to the country's "traditional friends," the New York banks.

In 1973, the National Council of Churches obtained and released secret bank documents which disclosed a series of loans to South Africa worth $210 million. They were organized by the New York-based European American Banking Corporation and involved ten smaller U.S. institutions. Public disclosure of the loans led to protests, and church officials say nine of the participating American regionals have pledged to make no further loans to South Africa.

The churches and the American Committee on Africa are planning similar protests against the recent loans. Already, Citibank has termed its South African lending "embarrassing," but the stakes are high. The spectacle of South Africa raising record loans here in the midst of the most serious political challenge ever mounted against its white minority rule demonstrates the importance U.S. business interests place on that nation.

"South Africa is endowed with all the minerals needed by the industrial world, except petroleum and bauxite," says a recent Chase Manhattan analysis: "It produces 77 per cent of the non-Socialist world's gold, 75 per

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cent of its platinum, and major shares of diamonds, uranium, manganese, chromium and antimony." It also produces unusually high profits for investors. South Africa forms the hub of a strategic, mineral-rich subcontinental economy—still highly interdependent despite recent political changes—where more than $5 billion in Western capital is committed. However, the loans and other investments cannot be regarded as a carte-blanche endorsement of white supremacy. The bankers would like to see a moderation of racial practices—"the development of a more pluralistic society," as Citibank's Executive Vice President George Vojta put it during Congressional testimony in September. But until a suitable alternative takes shape, they seem willing to help the white regime survive.

"The banks are too sophisticated to pull the rug out from underneath South Africa," says *The Economist* of London. "Their line is that its mineral resources make the country a good bet in the long term whatever the political changes." Back in 1974, those minerals attracted the special attention of the Nixon administration, at a time when it was avoiding as best it could any policy toward Africa. On Presidential orders, the White House Council on International Economic Policy studied U.S. mineral dependence and reported that South Africa is not only a major supplier of strategic materials but also a dependable one—"unlikely to participate in any embargo of exports." What did concern the analysts who wrote the report was how disruptive for Western economies political turmoil in southern Africa could be. Their discussion of this sensitive topic remains classified; the published *Special Report on Critical Imported Minerals* does not mention it.

Those considerations were a major reason why Secretary of State Kissinger began to take so lively an interest in southern Africa's problems, when it became clear to all that white rule in the region cannot survive for long. Along with his visible diplomatic undertakings, Kissinger has quietly sought to rally the financial community behind his attempt to slow the pace of change from minority to majority rule. The American Secretary has held personal consultations with top American bankers and with South Africa's most powerful financier, Harry Oppenheimer of Anglo American Corporation.

American political and economic involvement in southern Africa today amounts to a new kind of interventionist strategy—one relying more heavily on financial capital than on covert agents to influence political developments. For Rhodesia, it includes a $2 billion trust fund designed to preserve the present economic infrastructure by encouraging the whites who control it to remain in the country after independence. It includes major new investments there; the State Department has begun laying the groundwork with a working group drawn from about twenty key corporations. It includes strategic allocation of American aid money and personnel: the Agency for International Development (AID) has commissioned one study on how funds should be allocated to the transitional administrations-to-be in Rhodesia and Namibia, and a second, more comprehensive study is being made of the eco-political framework in nine southern African nations.

For South Africa, informed diplomats believe, it includes an American proposal to Prime Minister Vorster, designed to nudge him into concessions over Rhodesia and Namibia by offering assistance to obtain new investment and loan capital from private enterprise and the IMF.

In contrast to several other Kissinger ventures, the latest southern African undertaking has attracted bipartisan support. The momentum it has gained—and the subtlety it employs—could carry this strategy right into Democratic policies. In any case, U.S. businessmen have been quick to recognize how well it serves their interests. "Particularly at a time when the recent U.S. diplomatic initiative in southern Africa gives rise to strong hopes for peaceful change in that area and evolution toward recognition of the rights of the nonwhites," says Morgan Guaranty Trust Vice Chairman Lewis Preston, "we believe it important to assist, through loans such as this one, in maintaining the economic stability and momentum without which this process of change would be, at the very least, seriously impeded."

Uluschak, Edmonton Journal (Canada)

Preston's comments are contained in a reply to questions asked about the bank's participation in a recent $200 million South African loan by the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility. According to Tim Smith, director of the Center, sponsored by fifty Protestant and Catholic bodies, those arguments have not convinced the churches to drop their criticism. "These loans," he says, "directly support the apartheid government financially and politically, and they come at a time when the black population is in open rebellion against the white minority regime." □

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FASTING IN PRISON

THE MESS-HALL 'INSURRECTION'

EDWARD BUNKER

On Friday, October 1, the 1,100 prisoners of McNeil Island federal penitentiary began a three-day boycott of meals. It was insignificant as prison insurrections go. No hostages were taken, nobody was assaulted, no government property was burned. Indeed, there wasn't even a work stoppage. The food boycott was planned for the weekend, but that Friday evening the education classes had full attendance. Quite simply, the prisoners didn't go into the mess hall; that constituted the insurrection. Nothing in the volumes of "policy statements" of the Bureau of Prisons says they must. To eat or not to eat is a convict's choice.

The grievances were simple. Though individuals may have had complaints not here included, and no formal manifesto was drawn up, the main reasons were:

(*1*) *Food.* The preparation had deteriorated from plain but decent fare to such affronts as half-cooked pork, lettuce still smelling of insecticide and flecked with dead insects, meat half-rotten but dipped in sauces to hide its condition. The milk ration had been cut down. Most significantly, it had formerly been the policy, when pork was served, to leave boxes of cold cereal on the line because the many Muslims cannot eat pork. Utensils such as trays, cups and silverware were too few for the population, so the serving counters often stopped for half an hour, while the men waited in line. All these things had begun simultaneously with the arrival of Charles Kane as food manager; he came from the Lompoc Correctional facility where there had been protests and strikes over the food.

(*2*) *Visitors.* New procedures had been instituted by the new, "tough" Warden Lawrence Putnam. All visitors of inmates arrive on the 11 A.M. boat. The last boat going back to the mainland leaves at 3:30. McNeil Island, like nearly every prison in the United States, even super-maximum Marion, Ill. has a narcotics problem. It cannot be controlled in prison any more than it can be controlled in society. Warden Putnam caused a huge sign to be put up on the mainland dock, threatening the whole world on the subject of contraband. He resents not being able physically to search visitors, guards, and their families living on the island. He already skin-searches inmates when they leave the visiting room. That is standard, understandable practice in any prison where contact visits are allowed. However, his next move was to search inmates *going to* the visiting room—to stop narcotics coming in? It wouldn't have been so bad, however ludicrous, if the visitors arrived consecutively; but they all appear at the same time. Therefore, two guards must skin-search 150 or 200 inmates while the visitors wait, sometimes for more than an hour. The last boat still leaves at 3:30. Seventy per cent of the inmates are from California; four visits are the monthly quota. The objection was not to the senseless search itself but to the fact that it cut into the already limited visits.

(*3*) *Telephones.* Many months earlier, Norman Carlson, director of the Bureau of Prisons, had issued a memorandum liberalizing inmate use of telephones for outgoing calls. Nearly all federal institutions thereupon installed pay telephones in fair number. McNeil Island never complied with the bureau policy in this matter; it had just two telephones, operated by counselors during the evening, for 1,100 men.

Those were the overt issues. Underlying them was gross overcrowding, the population having risen 20 to 30 per cent since spring. The cells are antiquated cages (McNeil is an old territorial prison) 15 feet square, and were already crowded with eight men in each. The count was increased to ten, allowing less space per man than a U.S. district judge found unconstitutional in the state of Alabama. But McNeil Island inmates realize that overcrowding isn't the warden's fault, though it can be used by the Bureau of Prisons to ask Congress for new institutions. The prison system, like any bureaucracy, has a primary goal of self-perpetuation and growth.

Some McNeil Island inmates wanted to include in the meal-boycott grievances a demand for revised parole guidelines, which are meaningless anyway. The parole commission will use them to justify the denial of a parole, but when they don't want to give a parole to someone entitled to one by the guidelines, they say they can go outside them. However, most men realize that such demands infuriate the public, which knows nothing about the world of imprisonment.

Above and beyond bad food, ill-conceived visiting regulations and overcrowding, Warden Putnam had created general tension by his "tough-guy" attitude. Although searches of body and cage are intrinsic to prison and usually accepted with stoicism, when they increase to an unreasonable degree the resentment of helplessness begins to grow. Being patted down, or stripped naked, or having men paw through letters and photos and personal property on whim can create seething anger. This began happening after Lawrence Putnam arrived. He also reopened "disciplinary" segregation, where men are held in lockup (the hole) without personal property or privileges. Warden Rauch had closed the hole, with no increase in disciplinary problems.

Such was the background of the situation on October 1. At lunch time the inmates refused the meal. Participation was 100 per cent. Afterward, everyone returned to work, and the afternoon was uneventful. But after work and count, nobody showed up for the evening meal.

Edward Bunker, a frequent Nation *contributor, aged 43, has spent most of his life in prison, serving terms for a variety of offenses that include forgery, burglary, safe-cracking, assault with a deadly weapon and robbery. He has been addicted to drugs. Mr. Bunker published "War Behind Walls" in 1972* (Harper's *magazine*) *and a novel,* No Beast So Fierce, *in 1973 (W.W. Norton).*

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Warden Putnam gave interviews to the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, the Tacoma *News-Tribune*, saying the boycott was a protest against the shortage of plates, cups and silverware. He told KIRO, Seattle, that it was a peaceful situation, that no inmates had been locked up and, except that nobody was eating, everything was normal.

In the evening the night college classes were held with full attendance; basketballs whacked the gym floor; men grunted at the weight pile. Putnam called together the chairmen of many authorized inmate organizations—Mexican-American Self-Help, Brotherhood of American Indians, Black Culture Workshop, Jaycees, Italian-American Club, Toastmaster's, etc. He asked what the problems were, listened to the issues, and nobody knew that he was marking the names of those who spoke up. Later that night a mimeographed statement was put in each cell. In it, he promised to look into the problems, recognized that it was more than a shortage of spoons, and hoped the weekend activities could go on normally.

Saturday morning nobody ate. Neither were they standing around in sullen, volatile rage. Except for a reduction of cholesterol intake it began as a normal weekend in prison. That evening, however, the warden got tough. Instead of letting the inmates shun the mess hall, he didn't open the cells to give them the choice. He now told reporters that it was done to stop violence, though he'd earlier told reporters there was no violence—and nowhere did any occur. He still promised that no punitive measures would be taken, and that the inmates were being fed sack lunches in their cells. He wouldn't let the press in to interview anyone.

The sack lunches were generally refused. One inmate, Villalobos, was put in the hole, charged with refusing a lunch. In fact, the disciplinary committee found him guilty—of refusing a sandwich!

While that was going on, Warden Putnam took hostages. Eighteen inmates were put in leg irons, waist chains and handcuffs and carried across the water for a nonstop twenty-two-hour bus ride to the correctional facility at Lompoc, Calif. They since have been scattered to Atlanta, Leavenworth, Lewisburg, LaTuna and elsewhere. Snatched up without warning, they were given no chance to go to their cells and get any property, legal papers or anything else. Many of them have lost family photographs and other things of no material value. Warden Putnam announced in the morning (again nobody ate) that the eighteen were ringleaders. At Lompoc they were given incident reports (first the punishment; then the trial). The one received by Ronald Johnson, now in Leavenworth, is typical. Signed by an Officer Bradley (but written by an inmate informer who works as the Captain's clerk), it said: "About 6 P.M. on October 1st, I saw Johnson stopping and talking to various inmates. I *believe* Johnson is deeply involved in the food strike." That is the charge, specifications and evidence—every bit of it.

While prison inmates have few "rights" under the law, and courts have held that they can be transferred without reason or hearing, Director Carlson tries to convey that the Bureau of Prisons observes a modicum of fairness. Johnson had spent nearly four years in McNeil Island without a single incident report, was an excellent worker in industries, and attended college at night. Indeed, as a member of a student committee, he was, on the night the officer saw him, telling students that classes were being held as usual. While one prison is pretty much like another, Johnson's wife and child have moved from California to Bremerton, Wash., to be within visiting distance. Must *she* now quit her job, pack up her child and move on to Kansas? What crime did she commit?

Another inmate, Perez, was dropped off at Terminal Island. While the area is where he lives, and the transfer helped him in that regard, the Terminal Island disciplinary committee confiscated 200 days of good time, adding seven months to his sentence. The evidence was a report that could have been a carbon copy of Johnson's.

Odell Bennett, whose wife lives within a few miles of McNeil Island, wasn't even given an incident report for several weeks, until he started filing administrative appeals and writing the newspapers in northwest Washington, none of which were ever allowed to interview any inmates. The report, when it was finally written, said that he had been identified as a ringleader by a "reliable informant." He is now in the super-Maximum Marion, Ill. penitentiary, and might be undergoing "behavior modification" in the Control Unit.

The eighteen hostages were picked arbitrarily, to frighten the rest of the population. Nor did the retaliation stop there. On Sunday evening more inmates were locked up, including two young blacks—because they broke the strike and went to eat on Sunday morning. An effeminate homosexual was locked up because they "believed" he was making notations of who went into the mess hall. Finally, the chairmen of the various committees summoned by the Warden, those who hadn't been transferred the night before, were put in the hole, at least those who had spoken up in answer to his questions. In the ensuing weeks many more men were transferred.

As anyone might expect, the food boycott ended on Monday; it contained the seeds of its own demise: hunger. The institutional situation became at least superficially normal, as it would have without the overreaction by Warden Putnam. However, when the local press continued to ask for interviews, mainly because the relatives of the inmates who were transferred complained to the media, Putnam still wouldn't let them in—and about that time stories were given out concerning an alleged $35,000 per week narcotics smuggling operation in the prison. Anyone faintly acquainted with prisons would know that men serving time are generally poor, their families on welfare; $35,000 is as realistic as $35 million. It might have been the same type of ploy that Richard Nixon used when he put the armed forces on alert during Watergate.

So it's a tempest in a teapot—but society cannot convey its moral superiority to imprisoned persons when it allows authorities, who are society's surrogates, to act so ruthlessly and arbitrarily and so without fundamental fairness. Moreover, the failure to heed peaceful protest, or to act in good faith, is what eventually leads to violent insurrection. Attica is not that far behind us. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Strictly Word of Mouth

INTERVIEWS WITH WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. *Edited by Linda Wagner. New Directions. 108 pp. Paper $2.95.*

TALKING AT THE BOUNDARIES. *By David Antin. New Directions. 277 pp. $11.95.*

WYSTAN CURNOW

There was a demand. Give us the word, alive and in person. Between rock concerts and rallies, there were the other live performances, recitals, concerts, on campuses mainly, of the word. Leonard Cohen sang, Allen Ginsberg chanted. John Cage, like Buckminster Fuller, would talk for hours on end. When Charles Olson spoke, or Robert Creeley, was it poem or talk that was heard? Fuller wrote "poems," epic poems would we believe? Now that he was reading in public more often, Robert Lowell found he was writing more colloquially. Ginsberg took to composing with, Barth to performing with, the tape recorder. Yes, and English professors lost their fear of it, so that no poet's reputation (novelists are next) is made unless he's been interviewed. And interviewed. Books reclaim, make mime of, all this talk. The transcripts grow in number and kind. Linda Wagner's *Interviews* has this exchange from 1957:

> *Q:* But here's a part of a poem you yourself have written: . . . "2 partridges/ 2 mallard ducks/ a Dungeness crab/ 24 hours out/ of the Pacific/ and 2 live-frozen/ trout/ from Denmark . . ." Now, that sounds just like a fashionable grocery list!
>
> *A:* It is a fashionable grocery list.
>
> *Q:* Well, is it poetry?
>
> *A:* We poets have to talk in a language which is not English. It is the American idiom. Rhythmically it's organized as a sample of the American idiom.

Still the interviewer presses on, rephrasing his charge ("are we supposed to understand it?," etc.,) which the poet either avoids or accepts. Not to be difficult mind you, but simply to say what he means. Williams was a talky prose writer and prolific; whatever he says in this book he has, I believe, said better and at greater length in some other. Yet, often, when the interviewer acts spokesman for the commonplaces against which Williams defined his talent, dialogue gains a summary effectiveness: "*Q:* How sick do you think Pound is? *A:* I don't think he's sick at all. . . . *Q:* Well, what do you think there is about the American language that is so different? You've done more in American than anybody?" This being the interviewer's own language, and he speaks of it as it were a foreign tongue! English being what Britishers speak and what Americans expect their writers to use for poetry. Hence the seeming side-step: "We poets have to talk in a language which is not English." Poetry must be in the idiom. This 1957 interview was—about half of it turns up as part of *Paterson,* Book Five.

In 1968, Linda Wagner and Lewis MacAdam put this question to Robert Creeley:

> *Q:* . . . . I was reading the other day a poem by Gary Snyder, *How to Make Stew in the Pinacate Desert:* "Now put in the strips of bacon./ In another pan have all the vegetables cleaned up and/ peeled and sliced./ Cut the beef shank meat up small . . ." If technique is the rationale for Snyder's poem, have we gone too far with the present emphasis on technique?
>
> *A:* . . . it is addressed to two friends. What Gary's doing here is literally giving them a recipe for stew, and his *way* of speaking is evident. A tone or mode or kind of speech is occurring. Yes, you can literally take this poem as a recipe for how to make stew, but in this way of saying something there's also an emotional content, a kind of feeling. . . . This particular emotion is a mode of address to friends meant as a warmth which all three share, therefore anyone. In that possibility I find the most interest.

Williams would have, too. A similar way of saying is at work in most of his poetry. He opted for a word-of-mouth language knowing its rhythms and tones could take care of an emotion without blunting the objects or events that occasioned it. Opted for it because he was after poems that were answerable, on the spot, for the claims they made on experience.

Thus talk was also native inasmuch as it kept faith with experience. And again: each of us has an idiom of his own. Williams:

> I didn't go in for long lines because of my nervous nature. I couldn't. The rhythmic pace was the pace of speech, an excited pace because I was excited when I wrote.

Ginsberg, on the other hand, does go in for the long line; in "Notes for *Howl and Other Poems*" (1959) he tells why it is native to him. At some public readings it may be hard at first to distinguish talk from recitation, so successfully do some poets integrate self, speech and poem. A poem takes place in a field for action, says Olson. His essay on the subject, the Projective Verse essay, turns up in Williams's *Autobiography.* Talk is language in action. So, for Creeley, Pollock's "action" paintings, Charlie Parker's improvisings, were analogues for his own composing. For all these artists, their nativity means being "equal to/ the context of/ now" (Olson). Such a stance indicates something about how ideas are held. Williams's slogan: Say it: no ideas but in things, is not the anti-intellectualism it appears to be. Rather, he sets himself against "Minds like beds always made up," minds habitually closed to the moment's onset, locked into the no-place of preconceptions and therefore dangerous to themselves and others. American poets of this century have commonly measured their openness, tested their readiness, by entertaining ideas far-flung in time and space from those in their vicinity—the context of now has no necessary limits. In a recent interview, James Dickey says of Pound: "The thing that's disturbing is that you don't know what Pound knows, you are not sure that there might not be a certain amount of truth in what he says." And that's as should be. The poem is the transcript of an exemplary act of mind.

The same cannot be said of the interview. My objection to this collection is that it is packaged as an introduction to Williams. There's a nice little essay on the poet, the texts of three interviews, a little anthology of extracts from other interviews arranged under headings like, *On Art, On the Poem, On Modern Poetry,* etc., and a couple of short essays by Williams, notes, and a terrific index. By and large, interviewers ask the same questions and by and large they will get the same answers. The index gives us five references to Eliot in each of which

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Williams says the same thing. It is not the poet's fault that he comes across as a man whose ideas have hardened into opinion or dogma.

Talking at the Boundaries is a transcript of eight improvised "talk-poems" taped between 1973 and 1974. In the title piece, Antin says this:

> *. . . i was no longer so clearly a poet a linguist an art critic . . . going places to improvise something because i was getting extremely tired of what i considered an unnatural language act going into a closet . . . because anything is possible in a closet sitting in front of a typewriter and nothing is necessary*

And elsewhere: " i don't want to be considered a poet if a poet is someone who adds art to talking " He has got no use for a poetry that is "improved talk." Antin thus sets himself apart from the poets cited here, but he does so in terms that indicate he's coming from the same place. His pieces could as well be called "performance poems" and it's no accident that he took up talk-poems just when a growing number of artists stopped making objects and turned to performance and other situation and/or language-related activities. As with poetry, so with art—Antin is an avowed anti-formalist.

Well, *is* it poetry that he does? I'm not going to answer that question. Antin's language is slack, abstract, discursive—the language of the loosened-up lecturer who's put himself in a spot, left his notes behind. Yet it would be a mistake to pay much mind to claims of artlessness. What he says about Homer's talk-epics applies to his own gigs:

> *if your energy isnt impeded and you get to where you have to go without looking tired no one will remember that it took you a few extra steps to get there the principle of economy in an oral work is measured out in energy not in length*

Oral works take forms proper to them, and Antin's are shapely enough. The movement is peripatetic. Memory is a vital technique—as well as a major theme—and the talker, he knows, better than his listener or reader, where he's been, what kind of place he's headed for, the size of the territory he means to occupy. But interestingly enough, the resulting structure gives us something more like some poetry than like any other mode of contemporary discourse. Each piece is a collage of story and argument. We're switched, without warning, from personal confession to mathematical disquisition, from there to comic anecdote, from anthropology to translation, to geometry, to political economy, to anecdote again. The trick being to expand the context of now, to demonstrate the energy of that place by the speed and range of your movement.

Antin doesn't always pull it off. Indeed, at no point does he match the energy of Olson's famous 1966 reading at Berkeley. Dependent upon the contingencies of the situation as he is, the performer faces as many pitfalls as possibilities. So, "is this the right place?," which was improvised at the Moore College of Art, comes perilously close to being an intelligently hip graduation address. In "a more private place," Antin repeats material more than he ought, is less sure of his direction. He sounds tired, or is it overly relaxed, in front of this small audience, many of whom are friends? Partly because it did, it does, come first, "what am i doing here?" is, on the other hand, the most energetic. Partly because it *is* the longest, "the sociology of art" is the most impressive and substantial piece. In it Antin starts mapping out the consciousness he thinks might govern pot, arrow, map and myth-making in "primitive" cultures. As elsewhere, the focus is on memory and how it belongs in the present. Recording techniques, from writing to tape recording, that variously "fix" the past in ways essential to culture as we know it, have this liability: they reify memory, and thus narrow consciousness. Memory so enters into the arts of "primitive" culture that they exemplify a greater fullness of contact with the process of experience. And we are left to draw the implication that talk-poems more resemble the maps of Pintubi tribesmen than those put out by the Automobile Association. □

Corporate Drug Abuse

HUNGRY FOR PROFITS. *By Robert J. Ledogar. IDOC/North America. 164 pp. $4.95.*

DAVID TABACOFF

There is increasing concern in this country over the role played by multinational corporations in the economic development of Third World nations. The present administration and the multinational companies say that overseas investment and marketing benefits both the corporations and the underdeveloped host nations, a sort of "What's good for General Motors is good for America" argument on an international scale.

One of the most aggressive proponents of this view is the pharmaceutical industry, which believes that not enough Americans know about its good works overseas. A recent advertisement of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association (PMA), a nonprofit scientific and professional group representing 131 major drug companies, maintains that the industry "needs more attention from the press if it is to reach its potential in contributing to the betterment of the human condition."

Robert J. Ledogar and a staff of dedicated researchers have followed the PMA's suggestion, but it is doubtful that the industry group will be pleased with the result, *Hungry for Profits*. A slim but important volume of case studies on the activity of food and drug companies in Latin America, *Hungry for Profits* is replete with shocking examples of corporate irresponsibility in the Third World. From the selling of nutritionally worthless soft drinks to efforts to convince mothers to give up breast-feeding for infant formulas to the promotion of dangerous drugs, the book details how the multinationals reap huge profits at the expense of the local citizenry's well-being.

Multinational corporations spend a good deal of time and money trying to defend their overseas activities from attack. The PMA claims that "perhaps no single allegation is so misplaced as that of the so-called 'exploitation' of developing countries. Ironically, the drug industry brings to these nations the latest products to cure and contain disease. About 60 per cent of its plants overseas can be found in less developed countries, where medical needs are greatest."

Such protestations of innocence and benevolence ring hollow, however, when viewed alongside the well-documented cases of industry abuse in Latin America. *Hungry for Profits*, for example, presents clear and convincing evidence that the pharmaceutical industry sells dangerous drugs over the counter in Latin America, drugs that are either strictly controlled or banned entirely in the United States. And, un-

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like the United States, where the government maintains the Food and Drug Administration to control the marketing of dangerous drugs (more or less effectively), few underdeveloped countries have equivalent institutions to protect the unwary consumer.

Writes Ledogar: ". . . Manufacturers will often recommend the same drug for a much wider variety of conditions in Latin America than they are permitted to do in the United States. In fact, some drugs which are considered too toxic for all but the narrowest of indications in the United States may be promoted for quite broad and sometimes trivial indications in Latin America."

Take the case of one drug, an anabolic steroid, which is considered too dangerous for use in the United States except in cases of pituitary dwarfism and aplastic anemia (a rare blood disease in which bone marrow loses its ability to produce red and white blood cells and platelets). In addition to numerous other undesirable side effects, the drug can cause serious disturbances in the growth and development of young children. Yet in Latin America, multinational drug companies market the drug as an appetite stimulant for underweight children.

Another drug sold in Latin America for a wide range of parasitic infestations was taken off the market in the United States because of the hazards associated with its use. Accompanying the drug, an anti-parasitic, is a package insert that speaks vaguely of the danger of intestinal absorption. But the insert does not say that one of the results of such absorption can be death. This drug, like dozens of other dangerous medications, is often sold without a prescription in Venezuela and other Latin American countries.

Because such drugs can be purchased so easily, the danger of widespread use increases. People in Latin America often tend to be careless in their use of dangerous medication. Ledogar points out that "the self-medication habit is deeply ingrained in Latin America. It is a fact of life. Although drug companies protect themselves by obeying local laws requiring them to print 'for sale by prescription only' on drug packages, the companies are well aware that many people in Latin America buy drugs without a doctor's advice." The problem of self-medication is mitigated only by the fact that the uncertain game of taking medicine without the advice of a doctor can be played only by those who can afford it. Most people in Latin America are unable to afford the luxury of self-medication or, for that matter, even the most basic drug therapies because of the high prices imposed by the drug companies.

Economic exploitation is not the exclusive province of the pharmaceutical industry, however. *Hungry for Profits* also discusses the insidious relationship between the huge Gulf and Western conglomerate and the government of the Dominican Republic. By taking advantage of a feudal land-tenure system, the company plants ever larger areas of arable land with nutritionally worthless sugar cane for sale abroad while poor farmers are left in a perpetual state of near-starvation.

In the Caribbean, other multinational firms such as Nestlé have waged a well-financed campaign to convince low-income mothers to switch from breast-feeding to the use of infant formulas. The results are so devastating—the mothers have neither the sanitary conditions nor the money to prepare the formulas properly—that one English research group has published a pamphlet exposing the practice under the title *The Baby Killer* (for which it is being sued by Nestlé).

Damning as the assembled evidence is, *Hungry for Profits* is not without its flaws. As Ledogar himself admits in an early chapter, the book's case studies are not brought together in any systematic way. Because the book lacks a theoretical structure, it doesn't always give the reader a clear picture of the relationship between the host nation's government and the multinational corporations. The often hot-and-cold attitude of these governments toward the international corporations is confusing. Without a detailed analysis of the source of the contradiction—a growing sense of nationalism tempered by the need for rapid economic development—*Hungry for Profits*' case studies seem divorced from the larger context of what is happening politically and economically in the countries under discussion.

The book's most serious flaw is its failure to reach a general conclusion about the rule of multinational companies in the Third World, and what should be done to control them. While Ledogar argues that "what these cases illustrate . . . is a set of conflicts between multinational enterprise's pursuit of profits and the best interests of the low-income masses of people in Latin America," he provides little in the way of concrete solutions to the problem of how multinationals can be reined in either by the United States or Third World.

The author of *Hungry for Profits* sees his work as a complementary study to the more theoretical approach presented by Barnet and Muller in *Global Reach*. But Ledogar and his staff's research stands on its own. The hard facts they have assembled expose as fallacious one of the most basic tenets of post-war American foreign policy: the operations of multinational corporations are a boon to the impoverished masses of the Third World. The painful, if not surprising, truth is that multinationals don't make very good neighbors, and they operate with little regard for the desperate plight of their Latin American hosts. □

Deracinating the Third World

THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: A Comparative Perspective. *By Robert E. Gamer. Allyn & Bacon. 393 pp. Paper $7.95.*

MICHAEL MOFFITT

One of the most interesting intellectual byproducts of the demands of the Third World for a "new international economic order," is the rekindling of debate over the relationship between the geographical spread of capitalism, the underdevelopment of the Third World, and the impoverishment of its people. According to the Third World, the history of international capitalism is a history of subjugation and exploitation. This was, in the first instance, the result of colonialism and continues to this day, in the form of asymmetrical trading, investment and financial relationships. Such Western luminaries as Daniel Moynihan, Irving Kristol and Peter T. Bauer have responded with a forceful ideological counterattack against the Third World's claim that Western imperialism has something to do with Third World poverty.

Against this background, we welcome the appearance of Prof. Robert Gamer's

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provocative and important volume, *The Developing Countries: A Comparative Perspective*. For this thoughtful volume represents an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the structure of the modern world and why it looks like it does.

A political scientist at the University of Missouri, Gamer's point of departure is the political science establishment's traditional treatment of the principal subject with which he is concerned: the anatomy of Third World societies prior to their integration into the European-dominated world market system. What exactly were the vast lands of Asia, Africa and the Americas like before the onslaught of colonialism?

The standard political scientist's view of traditional societies is fairly dismal. According to a typical textbook, when colonialism finally managed to establish a money economy, the division of labor, and the possibilities for economic growth, these progressive transformations were continually resisted by reactionary political leaders who sensed an erosion of their privileged positions. Progress was thus hindered by a psychic obsession with traditionalism.

According to Professor Gamer, this is far from the truth. He maintains that a social system must be evaluated in terms of the totality of its impact on its members. And this is the criterion by which he compares the traditional societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America to their modern counterparts. Even if we restrict ourselves to basic "economic" indicators, Gamer points out that the established view of traditional society is simply wrong. While production techniques were, by definition, backward and thus output considerably restricted, traditional subsistence economies do a far better job of providing for the essential needs of most of the population than that which prevails in most of the Third World today. In contrast to the contemporary reality, traditional societies were characterized by a primitive form of "social contract," wherein each member of society has a legitimate claim on some portion of society's total output. "People," as Gamer puts it, "tended to live in integrated communities that guaranteed them land and/or food."

But we know from experience that simple economic aggregates are poor indicators of the level of well-being of a society. That most "welfare" economists have yet to realize this explains why they spend so much energy constructing elaborate models of what are essentially trivialities. As a true social scientist, Gamer transcends this level of analysis and discovers a number of features in traditional society which are ignored in orthodox treatments of the subject.

The most impressive of these is the ability of traditional societies to provide ways for people to exercise control over the conditions of their everyday existences—even though their communities and villages were often linked to vast empires. Because traditional political structures were directly integrated with the conditions of everyday life, there is considerably less alienation from political authority than we find in succeeding Third World political structures. These conditions were of considerable importance to communities and individuals confronting a hostile natural environment which they had not yet learned to subdue. This series of assertions about the nature of pre-capitalist societies Gamer verifies with summaries of numerous anthropological case studies of differing traditional societies from the American Incas to the Bushmen of southwest Africa. Though "they differ in many regards," he notes, ". . . all provide a means to divide land among their members, to mediate disputes, to assure everyone is fed even in times of hardship, to bring together willing hands when there is work to be done, and to keep leaders in check."

Next Gamer introduces what he calls the "disruptive forces." The thesis is that the stable, largely autonomous communities discussed above were thoroughly transformed by the spread of "international commerce," a polite way of saying mercantilism and later, international capitalism. This transformation was aided by pressures which were already being generated in the old society.

In a subsistence economy, control of the supply of food is the essential mechanism by which economic and political domination can be enforced. From time immemorial, rulers have used control over land or the produce of the land to insure domination over the peasants and to finance new wars and conquests. In the transformation of the traditional societies under consideration, a critical step was the transfer of control over surplus grain supplies from the old personal/political hierarchies to merchants and traders, who are no longer limited in their powers by the old systems of accountability. At this time, although the self-governing village community still exists, it becomes apparent that the predominance of the merchants is gradually becoming a reality. The old forms of ownership and control of the land are no longer compatible with the new power of the merchant class. Herein lies the roots of the Latin American *latifundia*. We begin to see the emergence of "large plantations, privately owned land, and landless families . . . even before the arrival of European influence."

With the maturation of the colonial system in the 18th and 19th centuries, the process of transformation is speeded up. The colonies by now constituted a periphery to the European core. The former arrangement of local production for local distribution gives way to production for exchange; i.e., specialization and the division of labor. This tendency manifested itself most visibly in the familiar pattern of the peripheral colony producing agricultural raw materials (and later, minerals and petroleum) for export. For those regions left unconvinced by the enunciation of Ricardo's principles of comparative advantage, military occupation was necessary to compel them to reorganize their old pro-

THE TWO VOICES

Let the scorpion
to his apple
under the bell-jar

Nights are numbered like
showers where the gas
leaks under the door

why is evocation
a term of approval?

Because the whole is
terror and to see small
is to see growth

Why is growth
a term of approval?

Growth grows to a fall
and the pieces are
peace for a while

And to number nights
is to clarify their dark
though the gas still leaks

What would you choose to evoke
if all nights
were equal?

To call up is necromancy
But if nights were equal
I'd summon
mutes decrepit
mutes with cloth
on their faces
who have had no experience
they can tell
and let them sting

Brian Swann

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duction patterns to conform with the needs of the expanding world market. The social structure of the periphery is thereafter increasingly unable to resist the encroachment of the superior productive powers of the colonizers—especially their weaponry. The constant evolution of production techniques and the growing *imposition* of foreign firms (and persons) in the peripheral economies, coupled with direct political rule, precipitates economic centralization *en masse* and accelerates the rate of destruction of self-sufficient economic units. Hereafter the activities of the state are directed toward providing a basic infrastructure (roads, ports, bridges, railways) which the export economy needs to function effectively. As the authority of personal and kinship ties is replaced in the economic and political spheres by the authority of the market and the centralized state respectively, the social autonomy of the old villages is correspondingly diminished.

If there is a principal criticism to be made of Gamer's book, however, it is in this general connection. To be really meaningful, the concept of international commerce as the principal historical force leading to the destruction of the internal coherence of the peripheral societies, needs to be much more fully explained. This is not, as it might seem at first glance, a mere academic concern. For an understanding of primitive accumulation is an essential part of the explanation of why capitalism of the center, which develops on its own, creates a very different kind of social structure than peripheral capitalism, which appears only after it is imposed from without. In other words, we need to know why the process of primitive accumulation in the periphery resulted in a form of capitalism that remains dependent and underdeveloped. Though it would have lengthened his book considerably, it would have been interesting to see Gamer discuss in greater detail the concrete historical processes which condemned a large portion of the Third World populations to marginal existences.

He might, for example, have considered the effects of manufactured imports on the traditional craft industries. Because their products were not competitive with imports and because they were not absorbed by local industry, the former craftsmen were largely excluded from productive activity and were reduced to the status of a permanent surplus population. (The tremendous concentration of land ownership, and the resultant inefficiencies and emphasis on exports, sealed this fate.) Insofar as the former craftsmen are involved in the operations of the modern sector of the economy at all, it is in the form of a structural obstacle to rising wages and organization of the work force. This is a principal reason, in addition to dictatorial political rule which is hostile to the organization of labor, why corporations are able to employ labor in the periphery at roughly the same productivity for a mere fraction of the center's wage level. It is also, according to Samir Amin, a chief factor behind the alleged "overpopulation" of the periphery, though one seldom hears this mentioned in standard discussions of demographic growth.

One other minor problem I have with the book is the unnecessary time devoted to theories of political "modernization." Like its counterpart in economic theory (development economics), this branch of political science is largely irrelevant to the desperate conditions of everyday life in the Third World. No profound political theories are required to realize that in a society where the majority of the population lives on the edge of existence, that the only possible way to maintain the system is through the kind of official terror practiced by the governments of Chile, Iran, Brazil or South Korea. But Gamer nonetheless devotes a 56-page chapter to a discussion of several theorists, such as Samuel Huntington and Gabriel Almond, (the Brazilian Helio Jaguaribe is an exception) and treats them with the same tolerance which characterizes his entire book. Though it is not uncommon for younger professors to treat their elders with similar respect, my own recommendation is that those not interesed in an internal critique of the political science profession skip Chapter 6 entirely.

The volume closes with two chapters on reform and "redevelopment"; i.e., ways in which a wide spectrum of (mainly progressive) Third World countries have attempted to recapture control of their own fate, and assesses their successes and failures. Properly focusing on problems of land and food, the first order of business of any rational society, Gamer's purpose here is to reintegrate his earlier discussion of the relationship between "economic progress" and human well-being. Here again, he stresses that he is "more concerned about overall personal environments than single family income." Thus he conceives of social change (basically decentralized socialism) as a way of bringing about *the possibility* for healthy human development. He is clearly supportive of Marx's view that social transformation is not simply to be pursued for its own sake, but to bring about the conditions whereby the potential of human beings to genuinely pursue politics, art and human relationships—all of which are crushed under the weight of alienation and oppression can be released. Gamer advocates social transformation in the Third World so that those peoples can begin to reclaim their historical and cultural essence, which is necessarily relinquished as Third World countries become deeply

WHY ONE THING

above all others
Should rise up, a pagoda,
Pagan, yet stone by stone
Chipped from one's own quarry?

So the lawn rises before me
Again and again, its bladed shafts
Carpeted, solid.

What inner urge? Something
As close to meaning
As the shape of one's hands,
Elusive . . . a tune remembered
Only by rhythm and without a name.

Flora J. Arnstein

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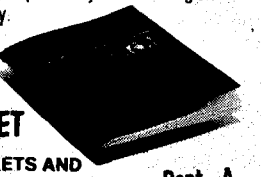

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integrated into a world system which stresses the homogeneity of production, *consumption* and values. "Developing nations," as the author puts it, "once contained healthy political systems; since the introduction of international commerce they no longer do. . . . This is because political systems once emerged from the societies in which people lived."

To close on a cautionary note, Gamer does not romanticize, nor should he, about the simplistic virtues of pre-capitalist societies. He notes that most of us "would be quite miserable living in such a place." But in any case, this is irrelevant. What matters is that the kinds of social systems existing in the non-socialist Third World today, and thus the kind of misery that generally prevails, is understandable only in the context of the integration of these regions into the international capitalist system. What is now required to bring about the abolition of that misery is the re-establishment, albeit at a far more advanced state of human knowledge, of the fundamental principle of pre-capitalist society: production for use, not profit. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

The Plough and the Stars (which opened here at the Brooklyn Academy of Music and is now on tour) seems to me as fresh and relevant today as at any time since it first appeared in 1926. I say this to begin with, because I have noticed a tendency on the part of several critics to patronize O'Casey. Few of them state the basis for their reluctance to grant him a high place in the rank of 20th-century dramatists, but I can discern it.

O'Casey is not "modern." He is not intellectual, not metaphysical, not formally innovative, only a genre writer. He maintains his lingering hold on repertory stages, it is implied, by carrying on a tradition of mellifluously racy speech which is the common heritage of the Irish.

All these reservations are shortsighted; they miss his contribution to the theatre of our era, his universality. Much serious contemporary writing for the theatre is an exercise in evasion. To achieve the "larger truths"—especially if they are nihilistic or despairing—the lived and substantial reality of our daily experience has been neglected or shunned as trivial and vulgar.

O'Casey's central theme, in his first three plays particularly, is the tragedy of the ordinary person in times of historical convulsion. Need it be pointed out that right now, in our "peace and prosperity," as the politicians say, the earth is trembling and being ravaged in one place here, in another there, while we wait in disguised apprehension for a world-shattering calamity.

The question O'Casey asked, in a cry of anguish, is put by the 15-year-old tubercular tenement child in *The Plough and the Stars*: "Is there anybody goin', Mrs. Clitheroe, with a tither o' sense?" O'Casey was a life-affirming prophet, which does not mean an "optimist." *The Plough and the Stars*, which along with his autobiography contains his best writing, is an unutterably sad play. The more we laugh—and we do loud and long—the sadder the play becomes. The men and women he depicts—the vast majority who everywhere live for small satisfactions and pleasures—are utterly inadequate, feckless and footling in the face of their social and personal destinies. With the city burning, men, women and children ripped apart and dying, we see people (including the "radical") playing cards, indulging in idle talk, shouting boastful slogans of bravery, and running like scalded rats into their various holes of safety.

Yet these same people in casual behavior manifest a mutual tenderness one would hardly expect of them. This, while raging at one another as if they were deadly enemies. Bessie Burgess, defiantly sings *Rule Britannia* among the Irish patriots, loots the shops (as do most of the others, whatever their political persuasion), is the most modestly courageous in helping her adversaries in need, and is killed for her pains. While a uniformed man is rousing the crowd to military zeal in the national struggle, speaking in splendid rhetoric—"It is a glorious thing to see arms in the arms of Irishmen. We must accustom ourselves to the thought of arms, we must accustom ourselves to the sight of arms, we must accustom ourselves to the use of arms. . . . The old heart of the earth needs to be warmed with the red wine of the battlefields . . ."—a simple housewife hysterically seeking her husband during the street battle in order to fetch him back home says of the soldiers, "I tell you they're afraid to say they're afraid. . . . I saw fear glowin' in all their eyes."

It was a daring thing to picture the hallowed Easter Rising of 1916 in this way: audiences in Dublin rioted at the performances. But O'Casey wrote with utmost compassion. There is a vast and savage humor in his writing as shocking as it is hilarious. It is the laughter of a demon god, irate and pitying. O'Casey's eloquence, whether in mockery or in condolence, penetrates our marrow. He speaks the rarely revealed truth about people in wartime and about war itself in its hidden minutiae. What he says hurts, sobers and would depress us if it were not redeemed by a rich humanity, a great embrace of benevolence and affection. He is angry out of love. O'Casey is somewhat like the teasing charwoman, Mrs. Gogan, whose reply to every bald assertion is, "She is, an' she isn't" or "Ah, they do and they don't." In the narrow compass of a trumpery event or as the British soldier says at the play's end, "Ow, it was a little bit of a dawg foight," O'Casey has achieved an epic statement.

There are some flaws in the Abbey Theatre (Dublin) production, but they are of little account in the light of the excellence of the whole. I had some trouble making out occasional speeches through the authentic thickness of the accents, but even this is no great matter: the "music" is there and the feeling. A good-sized cast forms a happy ensemble of which Siobhan McKenna (a marvelous voice and face for Bessie Burgess), Cyril Cusack (a delightful Fluther), Angela Newman, John Kavanagh, Clive Geraghty, Bill Foley are especially notable. What is most remarkable is the *quiet* of the production of a play which could easily be made flagrant. □

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

At best a program devoted to the dances of Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn might confirm that these grandparents of American modern dance were so in substance as well as chronology. Second best, such a recital might intimate the enormous popularity of St. Denis on the American vaudeville circuit in the early 1900s and the durability of the Denishawn group as it blitzed American cities and towns through World War I and for twenty years thereafter. At the very least, such a concert might let us see the dances, pure and simple.

As it turned out, there was little elucidation of anything when, in early November, the Joyce Trisler Danscompany engaged Klarna Pinska, once a dancer in the Denishawn company, to stage a program entitled "The Spirit of Denishawn." The spirit was vigorously

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pursued, for in addition to the dances there were taped reminiscences of St. Denis and Shawn and blown-up photographs of them and the art objects to which they turned for inspiration and instruction. Introducing the exercises in Oriental technique, a St. Denis specialty, was a gong straight out of Charlie Chan movies. The dances were selected to show scope, signature and, one presumes, achievement. The recital began with an exposition of all the techniques Denishawn had begged, borrowed, and artfully homogenized in order to get the show on the road—ballet, Duncanesque free dance, all the Oriental forms that are now called ethnic dance and manipulations with chiffon scarves. The second part presented abstract dances set to important music—Debussy, Brahms, Bach, Beethoven. St. Denis called them "music visualizations." The third section delved into the most intensely theatrical aspect of the Denishawn system—the scarf dances and the exotically costumed dances designed to capture the mystique and possibly the art of civilizations ancient and far away.

From the very first *pliés* and leg brushes that opened the program, it was clear that the Danscompany dancers are pretend professionals, just about able to work the muscles but quite unable to endow them with rhyme or reason. And just as they could not in the exercise sections distinguish between a strong and a soft leg kick or between activity and rest, so were they unable to let us see the steps and dynamics of the later, dressed-up sections. Obviously, when it came time for the personality numbers, the Oriental dances with which St. Denis wowed 'em, the dancers were all but hopeless—but not primarily for lack of personality. As in the music visualizations, it was the inability to convey the differences between big and small, natural and stylized, end and beginning that did them in. These dancers don't know how to stand still alertly, bend a knee without going soggy, or initiate a jump without charging into it. While the Oriental dances challenged their authority as performers, it also gave them the protective covering of exotica. The transparency and very simplicity of the music visualizations sent them scurrying under the cover of mannerism. For the serious dances, such as the St. Denis/Doris Humphrey *Sonata Pathétique* or Shawn's canon to the Bach two-part invention No. 4 in D Minor, the dancers imposed a Martha Graham sort of weight; for the lighter dances, whose mood one could ascertain to be blithe and perhaps innocent, the dancers wore grins, tilted their heads to one side, and galumphed merrily. One could barely see the dances through the performance.

There are dances worth seeing. In June 1972, at Jacob's Pillow, Marion Rice, also a former member of Denishawn, gathered a group, mostly of high school students, and presented a long program of St. Denis and Shawn. The dances were revealed to be primitive rather than naive, pleasant (and sometimes quite beautiful) rather than quaint. Requiring no great technical prowess, they nevertheless raised all the important choreographic questions, and in raising them so succinctly and nakedly could be fathomed as primers for future generations—Graham, Humphrey, even Merce Cunningham. How many times may a choreographer repeat a step before a new one is needed? How slight can a variation be in group pattern or step? When does a circle need to break into a line? Can the same movement look different when done by a different number of dancers? What happens when they look at one another instead of the audience?

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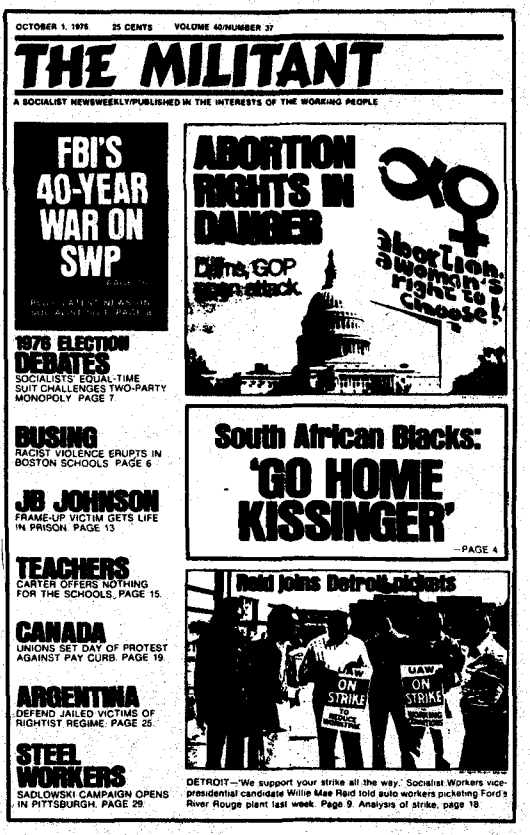
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At Jacob's Pillow one could watch St. Denis and Shawn crack the nut of choreography because Marion Rice's dancers were trained more as neutral reflectors than as interpreters of style. The extent to which Denishawn dancing involves the play of intelligence and the extent to which it may be pared of performance expertise and yet be performable was shown in this fact: blending in perfectly with Rice's group of amateurs was one of the great dancers of our times, Carolyn Brown, daughter of Marion Rice. To see Merce Cunningham's most noble dancer step into Denishawn without shifting gears was solid evidence of the continuity between then and now, technically and choreographically. These threads of continuity are presumably what the Danscompany had hoped to show, but the winds of nostalgia blowing across the stage erected insurmountable barriers to the past. Those with a limited taste for "antiquity" could not have found the evening pleasant.

Impromptu, the one new ballet created by Eliot Feld this season for the Eliot Feld Ballet, ought to be have been pleasant too. On the face of it, *Impromptu* is a quiet, low-keyed study of rippling arm movement and fleeting arabesques for a dancer with exquisite arms and line —Birgit Keil, guest artist from the Stuttgart Ballet. From the first seconds of the ballet, however, as Keil faces the back of the stage, one foot crossed in front of the other, her arms hanging easily at her side, the image begins to sour. The moment feels stagy, too carefully arranged to fit the modesty of Keil's pose. Does it feel this way only because Keil faces the back wall instead of us? But when a few seconds later she returns to that pose facing the audience, she reinforces the friction between attitude and fact. *Impromptu* is a case study on the uses of repetition, the while it is promoting a tone of wispy, fluttery improvisation. Never has a free, walk-around dance had to squeeze itself through so many mazes.

Much of the brilliance of last season's *Mazurka* (not done this season, unfortunately) derived from the fact that complex choreography barely strayed from the simple mazurka step. *Mazurka* used the classical form of theme and variation in a very strict, yet extended way. Perhaps one reason why *Impromptu* seems more rigid than strict is because it will not budge from the tonic chords. Just about every step Keil does becomes a signature of the dance—the way she crosses one foot in front of the other, curls her arm up the back of her neck into the air, her head a sprouting flowerpot, pivots a bow-legged ankle around the standing foot, hoists a leg up into ankle-nose contact. While all the transitional steps—the walks and waltzes and traveling arabesques—go some way to deconcentrate the dance, to make it a little more fluid and a little more spontaneous, they do not distract one from tallying the pivots, hoists and rests. Nor does the varying inflection with which Keil shades these steps ease us into the dance or make us feel we are going somewhere with her. These stabs at impressionism only heighten an appreciation of just how paltry are Albert Roussel's musings for harp. The music simply cannot accommodate all the nuances of dynamics Feld and Keil have arranged for the dancing. One admires the artfulness of choreographer and dancer, but one doesn't buy it.

Feld's sensibility is too mature and his heart too much in the big time to indulge in didacticism. Yet *Impromptu* comes perilously near it by precluding discovery on the part of the audience. In *Mazurka* (and for that matter in Balanchine's *Sonatine*, a danced-out walk that could have been a model for *Impromptu*), one doesn't realize until the end that the vocabulary is actually very limited. In these ballets it is a wonderful surprise to realize that one has been vastly entertained by wisps of

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material. *Impromptu* never seduces one into illusionary experience, never stirs up a dialogue between the imaginative and empirical faculties; one always knows what's going on. *Impromptu* goes about its business in a slightly grim way. That the steps themselves are more spritely than grim is not a provocative paradox. Rather it fastens the ballet in a stalemate.

The solo is a rare form in ballet and this particular solo is somewhat rarefied in feeling. *Impromptu* could not help but set Birgit Keil apart from the company with which she appeared. She is also much taller and more imposing than are the other women in Feld's company and, moving with the elongated tension that has come to be associated with high classical technique, was in danger of making the others appear homespun when she joined them in the regular repertory. Happily, this did not happen. In *Intermezzo,* for three couples, she was the tallest but not the classiest. □

FILMS

ROBERT HATCH

F. Scott Fitzgerald died in 1940, leaving unfinished *The Last Tycoon,* a novel about Hollywood of the 1930s. Its hero is Monroe Stahr, the young genius of a big studio who is commonly thought to be modeled on Irving Thalberg, production chief of M-G-M, who died in 1936 at the age of 37. We know from Fitzgerald's notes that Stahr was to have died at about that age in a plane crash.

Though incomplete, *The Last Tycoon* is frequently bracketed with *The Great Gatsby* as Fitzgerald's best work. They are alike in that Gatsby and Stahr are both enigmatic figures whom Fitzgerald cloaked in an atmosphere of mesmeric fascination. He never manages, probably he never intended, to say what made these men so extraordinary, and it is obviously not enough that each can be taken as epitomizing the drives and values of the society in which he appears. The power of the books comes from their ability to convince the reader that the author is absorbed almost to the point of infatuation with the men about whom he writes. Fitzgerald was a romantic, and there is a large element of the minstrel's hypnotic voice in the figures of Gatsby and Stahr.

Movies have now been made of both books; *The Last Tycoon* is the better because the more scrupulous work, but both are failures and for the same reason: they cannot make visible the magic that Fitzgerald convinced us he felt in his two central characters. Robert de Niro, who plays Stahr, is an evocative actor, but also a confiding one. He has an ingratiating smile, an awkwardly boyish physique. He performs intelligently the acts that Fitzgerald gives to Stahr—but he can be felt to perform him by rote, not through instinct. Fitzgerald looked up to Stahr as though he were the custodian of a dispassionate force whose only crack was the Achilles memory of his dead wife. De Niro translates this into alternating toughness and vulnerability, so that instead of being the presiding deity of mythical Hollywood, he seems a smart, overworked executive in a chaotic industry—outstanding among lesser talents. And as with Gatsby, when Stahr is reduced to human stature, the novel deflates; indeed neither book is memorable as a novel; they are fairy tales.

Elia Kazan as director, and Harold Pinter as screenwriter, have worked with evident dedication to translate the book to the screen. Baffled, so I imagine, by the insubstantiality of Stahr—whom Fitzgerald created at a second remove from reality in the memory of Cecilia Brady, the book's narrator—they have built up the behind-the-scenes, studio side of the original. Most notably they have done this in the case of Jeanne Moreau, playing a bitch-star of the silver screen, to whom Fitzgerald gave a single sentence of eight words, one of them an obscene adjective indicated by a blank. Kazan and Pinter give Moreau several scenes boldly spiced with obscenities, including a considerable passage from a movie within a movie in which she and Tony Curtis perform what looks like a spoof of ripest Bogart sentimentality.

The Last Tycoon is nervously full of stars—in addition to those mentioned, Robert Mitchum, Jack Nicholson, Donald Pleasence, Ray Milland, Dana Andrews, John Carradine and Jeff Corey. They lend the picture a "celebrity" glitter, but most of them have little to do. Nicholson is arresting as the Communist labor organizer with whom Stahr chooses to tangle at a bad moment in his life; Pleasence is given a falling-down drunk scene that adds only footage to the film.

There were two women in Stahr's life during the last year of it—Cecilia Brady (Theresa Russell), the Bennington daughter of Stahr's studio rival, and Kathleen Moore (Ingrid Boulting), who reminds Stahr of his wife. In the book, Cecilia's wry memory of that summer, and particularly of her coltish love for Stahr, salts a tale that continually threatens to turn mawkish. In the film, she is a sulky schoolgirl playing "the other woman"; de Niro's embarrassment in the face of her importunities is one of the most evident ways in which he fails to match the silken steel of Stahr's imperturbability. Boulting has moments of seeming as mysteriously irresistible as Stahr was said to find her, but both actresses have the fault of reciting their Fitzgerald dialogue as though they had memorized passages from some sacred text; it makes them appear hypnotized. And both have been made up to look like 1930s sex kittens, which is precisely what Cecilia and Kathleen were not—they were perhaps the only two beautiful women in Hollywood who had no wish at all to be seen through a camera.

Fitzgerald had a slightly heavy hand with symbolism and the picture preserves some of the more notable ones—the earthquake that cracks open the unreality of the studio sets; Stahr's unfinished skeleton of a beach house, in which he and Kathleen make love outside the context of both of their lives. Not employed is the sketch Fitzgerald left for the end of the book: three children were to find the wrecked plane in the mountain snow, and were to make off with the scattered personal effects of the victims in ways that mirrored the temptations of Hollywood. It is just as well; acting out a metaphor is at best a weary business, and this one was so cumbersome that Fitzgerald might well have scrapped it. Instead, Stahr, his supremacy threatened by the jealous Brady in cahoots with the New York bankers who do not admire daring, is last seen walking into the echoing shadows of an enormous sound stage. It is frankly a nonending, which in the circumstances is an honest way to finish the picture. De Niro did what he could with the part, but he doesn't convey what Fitzgerald was after—that once in a while a personality transcends definition to become an aura. Or, in less inflated terms, that infallibility induces awe and invites destruction. What remains is a cool, somewhat fragmented view of Hollywood—and that is worth seeing.

Lumière, the first movie written and directed by Jeanne Moreau, makes interesting if equivocal use of a familiar film structure. It opens on a scene of domestic relaxation at the country place of Sarah (Moreau), where Julienne (Francine Racette), Laura (Lucia Bose) and Caroline (Caroline Cartier) have joined her for a few days to escape from their professional and private lives. They cook, swim in a small pool, take walks, exchange confidences. They are all actresses, all successful and blessedly un-

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rivalrous. They relish one another's company. The scene then moves to Paris, where one sees them at their strenuous and stressful affairs, their paths crossing in a number of patterns.

This plot outline has been used many times to explore how a group of men, friends over the years, respond to one another during and after a reunion of some sort. However, the shift of sexes has made a striking change in the development of the theme; that may well be Moreau's point. Men, when they come together after a time, may be expected to re-form old relationships, and pictures of this sort are usually concerned with how expectations of dominance or dependency are sustained or overthrown by what experience has done for or to the individuals during their time apart. Such narratives tend to be hermetic, tightly focused on the group.

Lumière is much more centrifugal. The four women are genuinely fond, sympathetic toward and appreciative of one another. But the group does not cohere, taking on no quality of its own, because the identity of each woman is powerfully directed outward, toward some man or men. The title of the film can be taken to mean the light bestowed by theatrical performance; but it can as well refer to the males toward whom these moths are drawn. It is strange—they are all intelligent, exceedingly handsome, briskly efficient at jobs which give them satisfaction and independence (Laura, by exception, is recently retired and now trapped by pregnancy in a loveless marriage), but each seems restlessly devoid of a sense, as though deaf or blind, when her contact with a man is even momentarily broken. Most men are vitally engaged with a woman; indeed, it may be their only indispensable relationship. But when the woman is not present, they do not constantly look over their shoulders, break off meetings that have scarcely begun, ask each other repeatedly what "she" said the night before, and fly off as though they had heard a call inaudible to the others.

From the point of view of film narration, this orientation raises problems. The picture is about the four women—the men are exterior figures about whom we learn only superficial facts, such as that one is wise and kind, another petulant, a third jealous, a fourth selfish, a fifth touchingly vulnerable, etc. Thus, there is little body to the male-female relationships and yet no lodestone within the group. I give an example: Laura wakens Sarah to break the news that Gregoire (François Simon), Sarah's old and older friend, has died in the night. She says, I must go at once, but she doesn't. Instead, she putters about with breakfast and a bath, and then goes off to the studio, where anonymous men prepare her for a film session. Something is being said here, but the relationship between Sarah and Gregoire is so thinly sketched that one cannot be sure of the meaning. Meanwhile, the behavior of Laura and Sarah is poignant, but seems peripheral to the moment. The picture has many instances of revelation about how people behave to one another, but in the end it seems to drift apart, like leaves on a pond. I think, though, that in those closing moments, which show her being fussed over by technicians, Moreau is summing up her dissatisfaction with being a property (even a very valuable property) in a masculine world. There are other implications tending toward the same conclusion in *Lumière*; they make it a notable first work. I wish for myself that Moreau had found a way to resolve her point of view more explicitly, but I say so knowing that women may find that she has been explicit enough. □

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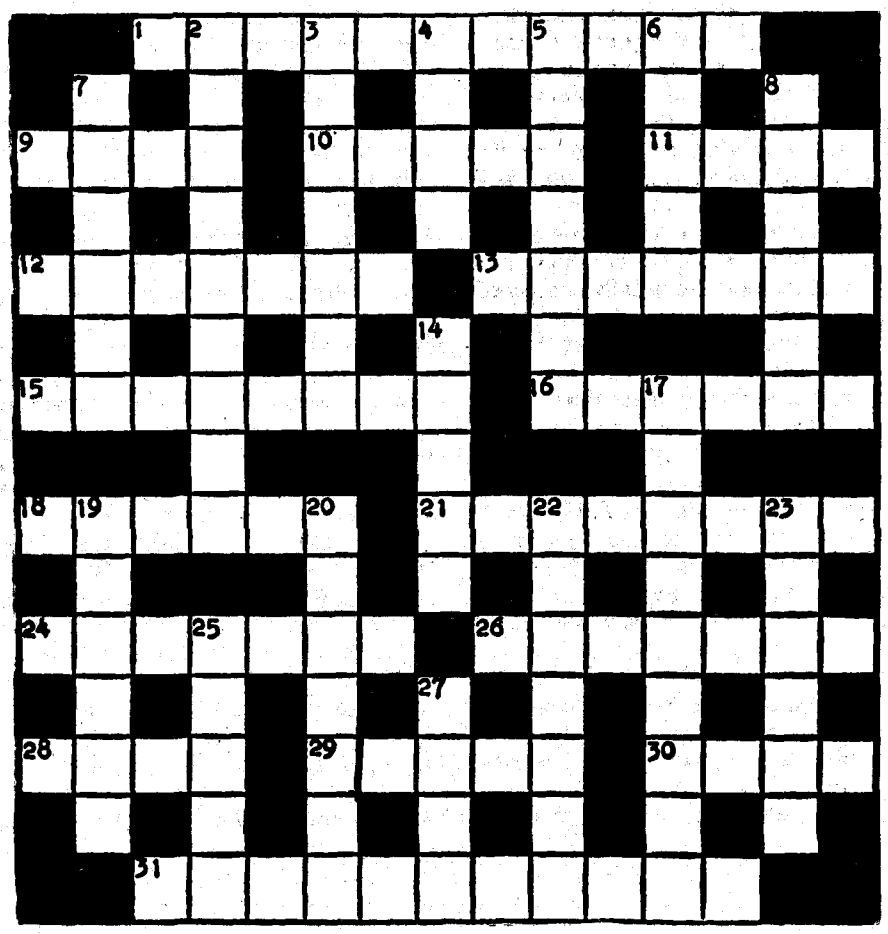

ACROSS

1 Sounds the way some take their whiskey, and how some like their coffee, is rather prudish. (6-5)
9 and 10 Actor/directors? Right! (9)
11 and 16 What sounds like the season Down East is important to watch, perhaps. (10)
12 Not a sign of the broad-minded in the Grand Circle, to judge the conclusion. (7)
13 Found out the way to make money was first around it. (7)
15 A set time, perhaps, for planned expenses. (8)
16 See 11 across
18 What a feller might leave, leaves one perplexed. (6)
21, 28 and 7 down British TV import on two levels. (8,10)
24 High-flown writing, perhaps. (7)
26 They should be able to press your suits for you. (7)
28 See 21 across
29 Practice how to make a hole? (5)
30 Are they responsible for the holes in laws that get broken? (4)
31 Those who don't like headache pills might escape this way. (4,1,6)

DOWN

2 A frightening aspect of modern life in some places. (9)
3 Consort with a girl, otherwise? It might be provincial! (7)
4 You might expect it after a long cold spell, but what of it? (4)
5 Speaking of where you live—(7)
6 —one with this name came some time after Main Street. (5)
7 See 21 across
8 An animal takes years to find a bird. (6)
14 It might be difficult to solve concerning public transportation. (5)
17 One doesn't have to go to a 19 for such clothes. (5-4)
19 One of 9 rung for a man might also suit you. (6)
20 Inside a crosswind, lest you get taken by one. (7)
22 One isn't equal to a 16, as they say, but things may go down with it. (7)
23 Not often done in such a manner? Quite the opposite! (6)
25 You get divine food up in old Indochina. (5)
27 It might be a handicap, but not for the firm. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1657

ACROSS: 1 Racked with pain; 9 Viaduct; 10 Kicking; 11 Lulled; 14 Stature; 15 Bulbs; 17 Godot; 19 Leisure; 21 Dictator; 23 Object; 25 Opening; 26 Politic; 27 Ascending scale. DOWN: 1 and 21 Revolving door; 2 and 18 Charles Dickens; 3 Exuberant; 4 and 12 Withstanding; 5 Take the air; 6 Pecan; 7 Initial; 8 Agog; 13 Bull-dogged; 15 Bluebells; 16 Spectacle; 20 Electra; 22 Alive; 24 Open.

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